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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II APRIL 1928 NUMBER 2

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Now, a community leading such a noble, blessed life as these Anabaptist heretics I should have liked to establish within the Roman Catholic Church, for, as far as I could see, it surpasses even the monastic life. I thought to myself: If you could accomplish such a task and establish such a noble way of Christian living among orthodox Christians under the protection of the authorities, you would be a second Saint Dominic or Saint Francis. I often said to myself: If you could just convert the Anabaptists so that they would teach your brethren in the faith their art of living, what a blessed man you would be. Or, if you could only persuade your fellow-Christians that they should lead, like these Anabaptists, such an apparently Christian and noble life, what would you not have accomplished thereby.

—Hans Jacob von Grimmelshausen
in his "Simplicissimus", 1668

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

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Editorial

THE WORLD HAS ALWAYS HAD ITS HEROES, AND IT HAS ENSHRINED them in its traditions and literature so well that all men know them. That is, all men know the heroes which the world has chosen to enshrine. The reasons for the choices of heroes have been various, and at times dubious. Much may be learned regarding human nature and human history by a study of the heroes of humankind. Much may also be learned of humankind by a study of the omissions from the calendar of heroes. The modern world is awaking to the fact that a revision of the lists of heroes is necessary. First in the new discoveries concerning heroes was the fact that there are heroes of peace, no less than of war. More and more men learn that the truest heroes are the heroes of the spirit. Yet it is not right to refer to the heroes of the spirit as "heroes" at all, for to most of them the term would be offensive were they alive to learn of their canonization. Faithfulness to high ideals and a noble cause, even unto death, was not a matter of heroics to them, but of unquestioning loyalty to the truth of God. Of these heroes of the spirit, the Hutterian Brethren are among the most worthy, and the least known.

It is impossible to read the life story of the Hutterian Brotherhood, now four hundred years old, as it is told by John Horsch in the series of articles which begins in this number of the REVIEW, without being deeply moved at heart. Such single-hearted devotion to an espoused cause, and such a noble cause, together with such a successful attainment of many of the ends sought, are rarely met among men. And such bitter reviling and cursing, such fanatical and annihilating persecution as the Brotherhood suffered for centuries have rarely had their equal. The earnest Christian will be moved to wonder whether the spirit of this folk can still be found anywhere in Christendom, and he will utter a prayer that if it is not, it may be breathed out upon this troubled, problem-filled modern world today.

The Hutterian Brethren have not yet had their day in Church History. Their story is still to be written. They present a unique phenomenon in the history of the Church and should be thoroughly studied as

soon as possible. Nor is their significance exhausted by a utilization of their story in the history of Christianity; they present an intensely interesting type of life which demands the study of the sociologist, both for the study of social organization and functioning, and for the sociology of religion. For the economist and social philosopher they present the story of a communistic society with an unusually effective technique, completely successful. It is to be regretted that the group has nowhere been comprehensively and competently presented to the thought of the modern world. It is as a contribution to this end that the REVIEW brings the story of the Hutterian Brethren in a series of installments which will probably run for an entire year.

Those interested in the historiography of the Hutterites should refer to the discussion by Dr. Correll on "Anabaptism in Tyrol" in the October, 1927 REVIEW, and that by Dr. Loserth on "Recent Research in the History of the Tyrol-Moravian Anabaptists" in the January, 1928 REVIEW. Excellent biographies of Hutterite leaders by Dr. Loserth are to be found in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, 1913ff.

THE DESIRE FOR PEACE IS WELL-NIGH UNIVERSAL IN THE MODERN world, more so no doubt than at any previous time in the world's history. Even the professional military groups claim to be for peace. From the fertile soil of this universal thirst for peace the great tree of the modern peace movement has grown with its many branches and widespread activities. The most significant aspect of the peace movement is the part which the churches are playing in it. Indeed it is safe to say that if the church men and religious leaders should abandon the cause the movement would collapse like a pricked bubble. This very thing happened during the past World War period, and one may be permitted to wonder whether the same thing might not happen again should a new world crisis burst upon the race. Previous experience would lead one to suppose that the only guarantee that the dabacle would not be repeated would be a pledge by all interested in peace, leaders first of all, never under any circumstances to participate in war or endorse it in any form. Such a pledge would have iron in it, not mere sentiment. The number of those who willingly take this attitude is constantly increasing and it is to be fervently hoped that the increase may be rapidly enlarged.

Insistence that absolute pacifism is the only sure cure for war is not inconsistent however with recognition and encouragement of the good work being done by various peace organizations. Sincere workers for peace will not be so much concerned as to how peace is brought about, if only peace finally be secured. Non-resistant pacifist churches are at the

opposite poles from the conventional peace advocate when it comes to principle and method and yet both should be ready and glad to welcome the contribution each may make to the common goal. One of the most active, though least absolutely pacifistic, of the religious organizations working for peace is the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, and a clear presentation of its aims and activities as revealed in its annual meeting is a real contribution toward an understanding of the modern peace movement. This is what Professor Guy F. Hershberger of Goshen College has done in his analytical report of the annual meeting of 1927 held at St. Louis, which he attended. His discussion will furnish the basis for an intelligent understanding and evaluation of modern peace movements, while it at the same time reveals the line of demarcation between the position of such movements and the absolutely pacifistic attitude of the non-resistant biblical Christian groups such as the Mennonites.

THERE ARE MANY PHASES OF AMERICAN MENNONITE HISTORY WHICH are as yet scarcely touched. To the present time most attention has been paid to the obvious and external aspects of that history such as the settlement and colonization of the various Mennonite communities and their external history, together with the history of the divisions and organizations which have accompanied this external history, and a survey of organized activities of various kinds. The more significant and in many ways more interesting phases of this history still await the patient research of the historian. The history of piety, preaching, and practice, the history of doctrine, discipline, and development of thought, the spiritual movements behind the various divisions and reorganizations as well as the initiation of organized activities of various kinds—all this has been scarcely surveyed. The exposition of this history must be the fruit of a large amount of small-work, *Kleinarbeit* as the Germans call it, local history, personal biographies, congregational developments, minor movements. Some of this has been done but much more awaits discovery. For instance, but few biographies of early Mennonite leaders and ministers have been prepared. The REVIEW is fortunate in being able to present the biography of one of the able ministers of eastern Pennsylvania of over a century ago, John Kephart, minister of the Doylestown and Deep Run Mennonite congregations in upper Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1806-1822. Calvin Ira Kephart, Senior Examiner of the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington, D. C., the author of the sketch, is himself a lineal descendant of his noted ancestor. Mr. Kephart is much interested in the local history of the Doylestown and Deep Run congregations and promises still further mater-

ial of a valuable nature for those interested in the history of this oldest district of the Mennonites in America.

BUT LITTLE NEEDS TO BE SAID ABOUT THE FIFTH SECTION OF THE CRITical bibliography of American Mennonite literature, 1727-1827, which appears in this issue. The amount of titles for the main branch of Mennonites alone was so great that the titles for the other groups have been reserved for a future issue. The list for the years 1905-1927 almost turns out to be a catalog of the publications of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa., which has been the official publication agency of the Mennonite Church since 1908.

A VALUABLE SERVICE OF SIMILAR NATURE THOUGH IN A DIFFERENT field is being performed by Dr. Silas Hertzler of the Goshen College Faculty in his research into early Mennonite educational history and Sunday School work. Dr. Hertzler has some valuable material on colonial Mennonite schools which will be published later. In this issue he begins a series of sketches of early Mennonite Sunday Schools, gathering the few scattered facts which can be discovered regarding this phase of religious activity amoung Mennonites. The first sketch, that dealing with the Sunday School at Masontown, Pennsylvania, reveals clearly how important the attitudes and activities of the early leaders were, for it was due to Bishop Nicholas Johnson alone that this Sunday School was started. The decisive influence which turned a vote of the Ohio Conference on Sunday Schools from a prohibition into a permission was also due to Johnson's testimony. Other sketches will follow regularly.

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The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1928

A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty

John Horsch

I.

Introduction

The Hutterian Brotherhood is named after Jacob Hutter who was burned at the stake on February 25, 1536, at Innsbruck in the Tyrol. This group of churches descended from the Swiss Brethren whose founders were Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and George Blaurock, in Zurich. The Hutterian Brethren differed from the Swiss Brethren (today called Mennonites) by their practice of "having all things common". Their community of goods, it might be noted in passing, differs vitally and essentially from the "red" communism of our time with its origin in the clash of the struggle between the classes (the workers and the capitalists). The community of goods, as practiced by the Hutterians, is founded on strictly Christian principles, and is in no way a materialistic, rationalistic system.

During the first decades of the Reformation period there existed in the province of Moravia (in modern Czechoslovakia) two other somewhat similar societies, namely the so-called Gabrielian and Philippian Brethren. They were named after Gabriel Ascherham, of Schaerding in Bavaria, and Philip Blauaermel, or Plener, of Strasburg. The church which is known today by the name of Hutterian Brethren constituted the strictest group of the three. With this group the two other factions just named finally united. Beside these three groups there were in Moravia also congregations of the Swiss Brethren.

The large Anabaptist church at Nicolsburg in Moravia differed from all these groups on various points, principally on approval of military service. The ruler of the principality of which Nicolsburg was the center, Leonhard von Liechtenstein, was a member of this church. Its founder and leader was Dr. Balthazar Hubmaier.[1] The Anabaptist congregation at Nicolsburg had for a short time a membership estimated at from 6,000 to 12,000. After his imprisonment by the Austrian authorities, in the summer of 1527, Hubmaier recanted the doctrines on which he differed from Romanism, with the exception of baptism, discipline, and the Lord's supper. While he did not disavow his teaching on these points, he promised to "stand still" and to abstain from the practice of the ordinances of Christ until a "General Council" of Christendom should give final decision on these and other controverted points, and he offered to accept and abide by such decisions. In other words, he retracted his former teaching that neither the pope nor a General Council can speak authoritatively on such matters. He repudiated his view regarding the present need of organ-

izing and maintaining dissenting churches. Evidently the majority of his congregation at Nicolsburg followed him in taking such an attitude. This led to the extinction of that congregation within a comparatively short time.

The Origin of the Church of the Hutterian Brethren

The founders of the Hutterian Brotherhood were refugees who had come from various parts of Germany to Nicolsburg in Moravia, having received word that Anabaptists were tolerated in that district. They differed, however, on a number of points from the church founded by Hubmaier with which the ruler, Leonhard von Liechtenstein, had united; therefore they met separately for worship. For this reason, they were, in 1528, informed by the ruler that they could not remain at Nicolsburg. In consequence between 200 and 300 persons, under Jacob Widemann, departed from Nicolsburg, apparently without knowing whither to turn. They first encamped in a vacated village near Nusslau. Here they chose "ministers of temporal needs." "These men spread a cloak before the people," says the chronicler of the Brethren, "and every one laid down on it his earthly possessions unconstrained and with a willing mind according to the teaching of the prophets and apostles." This was the beginning of the community of goods.[2] The Brethren proceeded to Austerlitz upon invitation by the civil authorities of that place, the Lords von Kaunitz.

In the year 1529 Jacob Hutter,[3] of Moos near Brauneck in the Tyrol, came to Austerlitz and united with the church in the name of the brotherhood in the Tyrol. Somewhat later many of the Brethren in the Tyrol fled to Moravia. After Hutter's return to the Tyrol a division took place at Austerlitz. The stricter party, about 150 persons, on January 8, 1531, under the leadership of Georg Zaunring, moved to Auspitz, another village in the territory of the Lords von Kaunitz. In great poverty they established there a common household (today called Bruderhof). Jacob Hutter, having again come from the Tyrol, was in 1533 chosen the head pastor[4] of this church at Auspitz. Through the efforts of Hutter and his assistants strict discipline and order were established, particularly respecting the community of goods.

Toleration Granted by the Lords von Kaunitz

As above stated, the Lords von Kaunitz had willingly received the Brethren into their territory. From Nusslau the Brethren had sent four men to Austerlitz to ask permission of the lords to establish a settlement, laying before them a frank statement of the points that had been the cause of their expulsion from Nicolsburg, in particular of their position on the question of paying war taxes "to which the Brethren for conscience' sake

could not consent."[5] "The Lords expressed their willingness to receive them," says the contemporary chronicler, "and grant them religious liberty. *They said, if there were a thousand of them, they would permit them to come.* They also sent them three wagons to assist them in moving. In other ways also they showed them great kindness." The brotherhood was offered a suitable building site and the necessary building material.

In the matter of the toleration of the Hutterian Brethren there was a great principle at stake. It should be recalled that in those times all civil governments in Christendom insisted on a close union of the church with the state. Not only the Roman Catholic but also the Lutheran and Zwinglian governments accepted the principle of the need and right of such a union. In all countries the subjects who did not adhere to the dominant church were persecuted and exiled. In principle every government tolerated only one creed, or church, namely, that to which they themselves adhered. The Lords von Liechtenstein were no exception to this rule. They did not allow dissenting worship in their territory.[6]

However, the Lords von Kaunitz took another attitude on the point in question. They were evidently of the opinion that adherents to various creeds could well live together under one civil government. They had weighty proof for the wisdom of a political policy of general toleration, since in certain parts of Moravia and Bohemia for a long period churches of Bohemian Brethren, called Picards, had existed and lived side by side with the Roman Catholic population without disadvantage to the state. In 1511 Lord Ulrich von Kaunitz had permitted Picards to settle on his estates. [The Picards were descendants of the Hussites. After the martyrdom of John Huss, of Bohemia, in 1415, a considerable portion of the Bohemian people disowned the authority of the pope. They succeeded in holding their own against the armies sent against them. After the Hussite wars, churches of the so-called Picards sprang up in Bohemia and Moravia. In spite of repeated severe persecution some of them maintained themselves down to the eighteenth century when they were reorganized by Count Zinzendorf. Today they are generally known in America as the Moravian Church.]

The Views of the Brethren on Toleration—the Cause of Their Persecution

The chief cause of the general persecution of the Hutterian Brethren and Mennonites was their rejection of the principle of a union between church and state, and their disapproval of the practice of infant baptism which was indispensable for the maintenance of the prevailing "state-churchism". The civil authorities of every state insisted that all infants born within the borders of the state (except those of Jewish parents) be

baptized, and in the Protestant state churches as well as in the Roman Catholic Church baptism was, as in apostolic times, considered to be the rite of initiation into the church. Thus all infants were made members of the church by baptism.[7] According to the teaching of both the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran church regeneration was effected through baptism. Baptism was considered the act of Christening, or making Christians. As a corollary, before the rise of Calvinism, the exclusion or excommunication of those who gave offence was rare in the state churches; hence the whole population of a state, saints and sinners alike, were church members.

The Hutterian Brethren (like the Swiss Brethren), on the other hand, rejected this position in toto. They saw no reason for the civil governments using their authority to give the church a geographical boundary by making its borders coincide with those of the state.[8] In the place of the practice of making all infants church members, they held that the church should consist of those who personally believed in Christ and surrendered themselves to Him. They did not recognize infant baptism as scriptural and valid, and therefore baptized those again who had received baptism in their infancy; hence the name Anabaptist (rebaptizer). They defended the voluntary principle in religious matters and disapproved of the usage of compelling every inhabitant of a state to hold membership in the church, even if personally he did not care for the creed or lived in offensive transgression. The Hutterian Brethren and Mennonites insisted that such must not only have the right to withdraw from the church but must be excluded from it.

The practice of baptism upon the confession of faith meant, then, as we have seen, the rejection of a union of church and state and of using force in religious matters. This was the reason for the decree of the diet (Reichstag) of Speyer, in 1529, which made rebaptism a capital crime.[9]

The Principal Reason for the Toleration of the Brethren in Moravia

Not a few of the Moravian nobles showed some appreciation for the position of the Brethren on the voluntary principle in religion. One of the lords at one time wrote to the higher authorities in Vienna that their ancestors already had realized that it was impossible to force a religious faith on any one, "for faith is a gift of God and cannot be given by any one except God himself." Yet, the chief reason for the tolerant attitude of the lords toward the Brethren is found in the fact that they had great material gain from the Hutterian settlements.

From a later period, namely the first decade of the seventeenth century, there is a valuable testimony concerning the general attitude of the nobles toward the Brethren. At that time the principle of a union between church

and state was no longer officially maintained in Moravia, partly for the reason that Moravia was not formally incorporated in the German empire. The testimony in question is found in a booklet on the Hutterians written in 1607 by one of their bitterest opponents, Dr. Christoph Andreas Fischer, priest at Feldsberg in Lower Austria (near the Moravian border). He wrote:

> "What is the reason that the Moravian lords protect the Anabaptists and give them employment? Why do they permit them the exercise of their religion in their territory, yea, what is more, on their own estates? Verily, it is well known that they do not grant such liberties to the Christians [Catholics] as to the Anabaptists. If they are Catholics, they will tolerate neither Lutherans nor Calvinists in their territory. If they are Lutherans or Calvinists, they will by no means tolerate the Catholics. And yet they (both Catholic and Protestant lords) tolerate the Anabaptists who are the very refuse of all heresy, yea, who are excluded from toleration in the whole German empire and are everywhere put to death by fire and the sword?"[10]

The Moravian nobles, as above stated, found it eminently to their own interest to tolerate and protect the Brethren. The economic benefit from the Hutterian settlements was very great. In reply to the oft repeated demands of the royal government in Vienna for the suppression of this sect, the nobles insisted that these people were the most law-abiding and useful subjects and that their expulsion would be a great loss to the country. Such demands from Vienna were from time to time repeated but, on the whole, without success.[11]

The First Great Persecution in Moravia

In consequence of the revolt and excesses of the Anabaptists of Muenster (1534-35), King Ferdinand of Austria demanded the expulsion of the Brethren with such persistence that the Moravian nobles did not dare to refuse his orders. They finally acquiesced in their persecution.

The Hutterian Brethren of course had nothing to do with the Anabaptists of Muenster.[12] They differed from them on the most important points of doctrine and practice. The Muensterites rejected altogether the principle of nonresistance and the separation of the church from the state. They constituted a politico-revolutionary party. In the city of Muenster, the capital of Westphalia in Northwestern Germany, they, through force of arms, founded a new state which was closely united with their church. Those who declined to unite with their state church were persecuted and exiled. They introduced polygamy and other practices which were an abomination to the Hutterians. The contemporary chronicler of the Breth-

ren speaks of the Muensterite church as "an abominable offence instituted by the devil through wholly corrupt and wicked men." Nevertheless the Brethren were unjustly decried by their opponents as being of the same sect as the Anabaptists of Muenster.

In the year 1535 there began, in consequence, a great persecution of the Brethren in Moravia. As above stated, their friends among the nobility seemed at this time to be unable to disregard the strict orders of the king. The Brethren were driven from their dwellings. They saw themselves compelled to encamp "on the wide heath under the open sky". They were forced to hide in forests and cliffs. On Easter, 1536, they held the Lord's supper in a fir forest. The elders and leading brethren finally decided that they should form groups of six to eight persons and seek employment and shelter. In this they gradually succeeded, since their faithful service, not only as common laborers but also as stewards and managers of estates, was highly esteemed by the Moravian lords. The nobles finally permitted them again to settle on their lands. In this persecution the Brethren lost all their possessions but within a decade they found it possible to establish many settlements.

The Second Persecution in Moravia

The Hutterian brotherhood, after the persecution just referred to, had a period of peace and rest until after the Smalcaldian war, in 1547. This war was a conflict between the Emperor and the Smalcaldian League (consisting of Lutheran princes under the leadership of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse). In the year 1548 there began a merciless persecution of the Brethren. The nobles wrote to King Ferdinand that the demanded expulsion would deprive the land of its best workers but nevertheless they were forced to obey the orders of the king.

Before the beginning of this persecution the Brethren had in Moravia twenty-six congregations (Bruderhofs). The whole brotherhood was driven from Moravia. They found refuge in Hungary, particularly on the estates of Baron Niary Franz von Praentsch in Szobotiste, near Senica. This nobleman had large estates in Moravia also, and had thus become acquainted with the Brethren. Two years before the beginning of this persecution he had permitted them to locate and organize a Bruderhof at Szobotiste. Other Hungarian lords also offered them shelter and protection. Within a short time the Brethren established in Hungary twelve congregations. Soon however, persecution overtook them here also. After disregarding for a time the orders of King Ferdinand, the Hungarian lords finally yielded to his stern demands and banished them in the autumn of 1548. They were forced to depart even from Szobotiste, yet Franz von Praentsch had some of his guards accompany them to the Moravian border

in order to protect them from robbers who inflicted great suffering upon many of them. In a forest where they met the exiles from other places they lived about five weeks and were then driven back to Hungary by Moravian magistrates. For want of space the history of this very severe persecution cannot be given here. Much of the time the brethren were compelled to live in cliffs and caverns suitable for that purpose. The magistrates gave them no protection and the brethren never resorted to force to protect themselves, hence they suffered much from robbers who in not a few instances even stripped some of them of their clothes. The chronicler of the Brethren relates that, although during this severe tribulation there were many who forsook the brotherhood, there were also many "who united with the church, became pious, amended their lives and took upon them the cross, indeed there were more of these than often afterward in times of quiet." This persecution continued for over four years. In course of time some of the men found employment and through their earnings the most urgent necessities could be procured for the brotherhood. Finally they were again permitted to form settlements.

Moravia the Land of Religious Freedom —An Ideal Christian Community

In no other country did the fiercely persecuted Anabaptists of Germany and Switzerland enjoy such freedom as in Moravia. To this province they fled from all parts of Switzerland and Germany. Many were apprehended while enroute to Moravia and executed for the reason that they refused to unite with the dominant churches. In Moravia most of the refugees united with the Hutterian Brethren. Johannes Kessler, a chronicler of the Swiss Reformed Church, wrote about the year 1540: "From Switzerland and other countries many Anabaptists go to Moravia, since they have scarcely any abode or security elsewhere. Some of them in that country lead a very strict life which would be worthy of recognition and praise, if their doctrine were otherwise pure and sound."[13] The chronicles of the Hutterians in Moravia show that the families constituting their congregations had come from all parts of Germany. The native stock of Moravia was not Germanic but Slavonic, speaking the Slovakian language.

In the year 1553, after the relaxation of the persecution, there began the period to which the chroniclers of the Brethren refer as "the favorable time for the church." This was followed by "the ideal period," 1565-1592, during which there was no open persecution in Moravia. In this period the brotherhood had in Moravia and a few points in Hungary between forty and fifty churches or colonies numbering 12,000 to 15,000 souls. Of these communities it can be said that they were centers of true spiritual life and fervor, of genuine Christian piety, devotion and love. It

is not probable that at any time since the apostolic period the Christian ideal of brotherly love and entire consecration to the service of God was anywhere so fully realized as among these Moravian "Anabaptists". The vigorous spiritual life which flourished among them is evidenced abundantly by their numerous writings which have come down from that period. The Lutheran church historian, Professor J. H. Kurtz, of Germany, characterized the religious life of the Hutterian brotherhood of this period in Moravia as follows:

> "They were noted for their sincere piety, exemplary discipline, moral fervor, strict industry, conscientious fair dealing, unexampled patience in suffering, but above all for their wonderful martyr-courage and martyr-joy."[14]

The Life of the Hutterian Brethren in Moravia

The larger chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren has the following description of the life of the Brotherhood in Moravia:[15]

> So they dwelt in the land (Moravia) which God had especially foreordained and decreed for them. They gathered to worship in peace and unity, and taught and preached the Word of God and the Gospel openly. Twice each week and sometimes oftener they held religious meetings. Christian discipline was used against those who fell into sin. They were put out, shunned, and each disciplined according to his guilt. Those who gave evidence of true repentance were reinstated.
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> Christian community of goods was practiced according to the teaching of Christ, and according to his practice with the disciples, as well as according to the practice of the apostolic church. Whether they had formerly been poor or rich, all now shared one common treasury, one common house, and one common table, there being special provisions, of course, for the sick and the children.
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> Swords were melted and turned into pruning-hooks, saws, and other useful implements. Never were there any implements of warfare in use such as swords, muskets, spears, etc. Everyone was his fellowman's brother and all lived together as a peaceful people; no one gave any assistance to the bloody trade of war whether with taxes or so much as the lifting of the hand;[16] and revenge was forever done away. Patience was their only weapon in all difficulties.
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> The Brethren were subject to the authorities, and obedient in all matters of good conduct which were not contrary to God, the faith, or conscience. What was due the government in the form of taxes or customs was paid; service was rendered and honor given where

honor was due, since the government was ordained by God and is an institution as necessary in this evil world as daily bread.

No cursing nor swearing was heard, without which the world apparently cannot speak. No oath nor vow was made, no dancing and card-playing seen, no carousing or drinking. They did not make for themselves fashionable, immodest, proud and unsuitable clothes. All such things were done away. There was no singing of shameful songs of which the world is full, but Christian and spiritual songs, and songs of Bible stories.[17]

The places of leadership were occupied by elders, men who taught the Word of God and who with admonitions to practice its teachings engaged in the ministry of reconciliation, giving attention to reading, teaching, and admonition. Difficulties which occurred were settled by them as arbitrators.

Other talented men were in charge of the management of temporal affairs, supervised finances, provided for supplies, and did the buying and selling.

Still others were in charge of the labor to arrange the work which each man was to do, so that each did what he was best able, whether in the field or wherever there was need.

Others were in charge of the table service. The people came with prayer and thanksgiving to eat, and returned again with thanksgiving to labor. With prayer and thanksgiving they went to bed and with the same began each new day, each at his work.

The schoolmasters, together with sisters ordained for care and instruction of young children, had charge of educational affairs and the discipline of the children.

There was no usury or taking of interest, no buying and selling for gain. There was only that which had been obtained through honest labor, through daily work of various description, including all kinds of agricultural and horticultural work.

There were quite a few carpenters and masons who built many substantial dwellings and other buildings for the landlords, noblemen, citizenry and others, especially in Moravia but also in Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. An experienced head mason was entrusted with the oversight of all building operations and made the required agreements and contracts.

Numerous mills were rented from the owners at their request and operated by brethren as millers. An experienced brother was charged with the oversight of this work and with making contracts with the landlords with the consent of the elders. Besides, many

brethren were engaged as head millers by those who did not desire to rent their mills.

Many landlords and noblemen rented their farm to the brethren while others engaged brethren as head farmers and head gardeners. This work also was in charge of a foreman who took no steps without the counsel of the elders.

In short, no one was idle; each did what was required of him and what he was able to do, whether he had been poor or rich, noble or commoner, before. Even the priest who joined the church learned to labor and work.

Then there were all sorts of honorable and useful trades such as mason, blacksmith, coppersmith, scythesmith, cooper, watchmaker, cutler, binder, polisher, tanner, furrier, shoemaker, saddler, harness-maker, bagmaker, wagoner, ropemaker, joiner, turner, hatter, cloth-maker, tailor, basket-maker, sieve-maker, glass-maker, potter, surgeon, physician. In each craft there was a supervisor who had charge of the shop, planned the work, and did the buying and selling as a representative of the church.

Everyone, even if absent from the community, worked for the common good so that the needs of all could be supplied. It was a perfect body, where each member serves and is served by every other member.

Just as in a clock, each wheel drives another and each part is necessary to move another so that the clock serves its purpose; or just as in a colony of bees in the common hive, one part prepares the honey, another the wax, another furnishes water, and another does something else so that the precious sweet honey may finally be produced, and that in an amount not just sufficient for their own needs but enough that men may also be supplied; just so was it among them. For that reason it was necessary to have organization and discipline over all. It is by organization alone that such a good work may be established and maintained, especially in the house of God who himself is a God of order and a Master-Workman. When discipline disappears, then follows disorder and ruin, where God does not dwell and things soon go to pieces.

A City Set Upon a Hill

It is to be noted also that the church became widely known in public in various ways. First, people learned about the church through those who were imprisoned for the sake of their testimony to Christ and his truth, ministers or other brethren, from whom men sought and learned the basis of their faith in various ways. This occurred

in many places in Germany, since the brethren were arrested on all sides, and often lay in prison for long periods, by means of which they testified in word and deed, in life and death, that their faith was the truth.

Again, the church, her religion, teaching, faith, and life, became known to kings, emperors, princes and lords. Princes and lords, nobles and commoners, and those attached to the courts of emperors, kings and noblemen came to visit the communities of the brethren and thus became acquainted with their life and teaching, and in this and other ways found that the evil reports about them were untrue. Many praised them as a pious people, and the church as an institution which must come from God for otherwise it would hardly be possible that so many should live together in such harmony.

But the whole world hated and envied the church so that she might well have said with David, "We have as many enemies as the hair on our head." As soon as they stepped outside the door they were slandered and abused as Anabaptists, Bi-Baptists, New-Baptists, Sectarians, Rioters, and all kinds of other terrible folk. People everywhere despised and mocked them and believed grisly lies such as that they ate children, grewsome things which would have been a grief to us had we but dreamed or imagined them much less done them. Yea, many strange charges were conjured up to bring the church into suspicion and disrepute. But these things befell us, this hate and enmity of the world, simply that we might learn to follow Christ for his name's sake alone and for no other reason.

If a person but traveled about with only a staff in his hand as a sign that he did not want to do anyone any harm, or if he but prayed before eating, he was an Anabaptist and a Heretic: so coarse is the Devil. But as soon as he left the church and became an apostate, walked about in heathenish fashion with a sword at his belt and a musket on his shoulder, from that moment on he was welcome to the world and again a good Christian in their eyes. Again, if one goes about without evidences of haughtiness in his clothes[18] and says that gambling, pride, haughtiness, carousing and gluttony are sin, evil, and against God, and along with that conducts himself meekly and with patience as becomes a disciple of Christ, he is reckoned by the world as a heretic, sectarian, traitor, and a fool, and what not else besides. But when he forsakes that mode of living, goes out into the world again, steps into the inn and begins to sing drinking-songs and whore-songs, sticks a foolish plume in his hat as a fool's sign, hangs around the dancing place, wears a big collar or crazy clothes, and makes the

air blue with his oaths and curses, from that moment on he is welcome in the world and worthy of all love and friendship, for then the world recognizes that he quite belongs to her again; she is satisfied with him and praises him; saying: "Yea, you have done well to leave the Brethren and be converted and become a good Christian. Now you have the right faith. How well you have done to forsake this sect (as they call it.)"

But the Lord strengthens us and gives us much power by not giving peace of heart day in and day out to many of those who have forsaken the truth and turned again to the world. Whether they stand or lie, no matter what they do, their conscience is continually accusing them of their apostasy. Yea, there are many, who return and bring forth repentance with much trial and weeping, confess their sins, and seek peace with God and his church, ready in the future to lose their lives rather than forsake the truth.[19]

Yea, we have great reassurance when we have heard and learned with terror and pain of heart of the despair of the apostates who have once known the truth of God and accepted it but have later forsaken it, when God convicted them in sickness or in the face of death when everything is revealed to men, how they have then complained so pitiably and experienced a useless late remorse. Many have desired and prayed with great fear that God would permit them to come back, that they might repent and return to what they had forsaken. And many succeeded in doing so without longer delay.

A Missionary Church

In the year 1563 a missionary hymn was produced by the Hutterian Brotherhood. According to the wording of the title it was intended to be used at the departure of the brethren who were leaving for service as missionary messengers of the Gospel. It is probably the oldest missionary hymn ever written. It contains 23 verses of 8 lines each, and treats of the importance of spreading the good news and of the dangers which accompanied this work at that time.[20] The Brotherhood Chronicle speaks of the work of the missionaries in the following words (about 1542)[21]:

The messengers of God gave their testimony to the truth earnestly and faithfully, in life and work, with words and deeds. They spoke with power of the Kingdom of God, showing how every man must repent, be converted, and turn away from the vanity of this world and its unjust, wicked, sinful, vile life, and turn to the living God, his Creator, and Jesus Christ, his Saviour. The favor and blessing of God rested upon this work so that the labors were carried on with joy.

However this was not accomplished at any time without great suffering and tribulation. It often meant the shedding of life-blood for the sake of Christ and the testimony to the truth of the gospel in many countries, provinces, and cities. Many hundred brethren and sisters lost their lives from the beginning of the church down to this present time for the sake of the faith. Even he who had just begun to taste of the truth and turn away from the wickedness of the world was seized by the authorities, especially during the time that the royal sheriff of Austria went throughout the land. Wherever this sheriff found a man on the highway or in the field who confessed himself a brother and refused to recant he forced him to kneel and beheaded him on the spot. In the villages he hanged people to their own doorposts and handed many over to the dungeons and prisons. Likewise, Aichele, the imperial sheriff, who traveled up and down Suabia, seized the brethren and sisters wherever he found them and killed them with fire, sword, noose, and death. What a shedding of blood without ceasing, which has continued down to this present day.

The following was written by the Hutterian chronicler Caspar Braitmichel concerning the mission work of the Brethren.

> They established the Christian missionary work according to the command of the Lord where he said, "As my father hath sent me so send I you." Likewise, "I have chosen you and ordained you that ye should go and bear fruit." Accordingly they sent out into the country, yearly, ministers of the Gospel and their assistants to seek out those who might desire to amend their lives and seek after the truth. Such were sent out by day and night throughout Moravia in spite of hangman and executioner and in spite of the fact that many had to give up their lives and not hold them dear.[22]

A Church "Under the Cross"

The Hutterian Chronicle contains a martyrs' gallery of over 2173 brethren and sisters who gave their lives for the sake of the faith, making mention of the places of execution. In connection with this list the chronicler says[23]:

> These all were executed with all sorts of torture and death, a new cloud of witnesses which surrounds us, a pillar of fire by night to go before us, confessors of the faith and Christian heroes of the truth of God, men and women, youths and maidens, old and young, ministers and laymen, by whom we see that God has poured out his grace and power in these latter days as well as in the former time.

Some were tortured terribly on the rack so that they were torn apart and died. Some were burned to ashes and powder as heretics. Some were roasted on beams, some torn with red-hot irons, some penned up in houses and burned together. Some were hung on trees, others executed with the sword, torn, and chopped to pieces. Many had gags put in their mouths and tongues tied so that they could not speak, and were thus led to the stake.

What they had confessed with the mouth they also testified with their blood. Like lambs they were led to the slaughter and murdered according to the devil's wish and will, who is a murderer from the beginning. One group of women were cast into the water and then taken out again and asked whether they would recant. Seeing however that they were stubborn, their executioners cast them again into the water and drowned them. Thus Satan raged in the persons of his children.

Some were cast into prisons without the light of day to starve to death. Others died in deep dungeons and cellars among bats and vermin.

Many were fed with bread and water before they were executed, while many were tortured with hunger. Some, who were adjudged too young to be slain, were bound and beaten miserably with rods, as happened to brother Hans Maendel when he was arrested at Sterzing as a boy. The same happened to Aendle Tuchmacher in Tyrol as a lass of 16 years.

In spite of everything they remained faithful with joy and rejoicing. Nothing could move them from their faith or the love of Christ Jesus our Lord. In them was the word of Christ truly fulfilled when he said: "Ye must be hated by all men." Likewise: "They will put you out of the synagogue, yea, the time will come when those who slay you will think that they do God a service thereby."

Many were promised great gifts and riches should they recant. Others were entreated to utter just a single curse, even a slight curse, and they would be released. This happened to brother Christian who was executed in Mermesser district in Bavaria, but he preferred rather to suffer the bitterest death.[24]

Many were talked to in wonderful ways, often day and night argued with, with great cunning and cleverness, with many sweet and smooth words, by monks and priests, by Doctors of Theology, with much false witness and testimony, with threats and scolding and mockery, yea with lies and grievous slanders, but nothing of this moved them or made them falter.

Some sang praises to God while they lay in heavy imprisonment, as though they were in great joy. Some did the same as they were being led to the place of execution and death as though they were going to meet the bridegroom at a wedding, singing joyfully with uplifted voice until it rang. Others stepped to the place of death with a smile on their lips, praising God that they were accounted worthy to die the death of the sincere Christian hero, and would not have preferred even to die a natural death in bed.

Others earnestly admonished the crowds of people who stood about as spectators to repent and be converted. Others, who were arrested suddenly before they had yet received water-baptism, hastened to receive the baptism of blood, to be baptised therewith on a living faith for the sake of the truth of God. Yea, many who had never reached the communities or seen a congregation, but had only heard the preaching, stood firm in the faith when they were arrested, and did not let themselves be turned away by fire, water, sword or executioner.[25]

No human being was able to take away out of their hearts what they had experienced, such zealous lovers of God were they. The fire of God burned within them. They would rather have died the bitterest death, yea ten deaths than to forsake the truth which they had espoused. They would take nothing in exchange for their faith in Christ, no lordship, no princedom, no kingdom, yea not all the wealth and pleasures of the world, for they had a firm ground and assurance for their faith.

From the shedding of such innocent blood arose Christians everywhere, brothers all, for all this persecution did not take place without fruit. Many were moved thereby to think on their life, and to order their living, thinking, and doing in the light of the future, so many indeed that finally the authorities in many places would no longer execute the martyrs publicly, for instance in Tyrol, but condemned and slew them secretly by night so that none of the people could see, hear or know of it.

In some places they literally filled the prisons and dungeons with them, as did the Count Palatine of the Rhine. They thought they could dampen and extinguish the fire of God. But the prisoners sang in their prisons and rejoiced so that the enemies outside (who supposed that the prisoners would be fearful) themselves became much more fearful than the prisoners and did not know what to do with them. Many others lay for years on end in dungeon and prison and endured all sorts of pain and torture. Others had holes burned through their cheeks and were then let free.

The rest, who escaped all this, were driven from one land to another, from one town to the next. They had to be like owls and nightbirds who dare not be seen by daylight. Often they had to crawl away secretly into rocks and cliffs, into wild forests, into caves and holes in the earth to save their lives. They were sought by constables and dogs, hunted like birds. All were without guilt, without the least wicked deed, since they neither did nor desired to do anyone the least harm or injury.

Everywhere they were cursed and slandered and lied about scandalously as though they had goat-feet and ox-hoofs. It was said of them that they could bring people under their control by giving them to drink from a little flask. Lies were told about them having women in common. They were slandered devilishly as Anabaptists, Garden-Brethren, seducers, sectarians, rioters, fanatics. Everywhere were issued imperial, royal and princely mandates, decrees, and commands against them, commanding that they should nowhere be suffered or tolerated, nor even sheltered, but should be stamped out and annihilated.

The Story of Steinabrunn

The chronicles of the Brethren abound in moving accounts of particular instances of martyrdom and persecution. "No more heroic martyrology exists," says a well-known American historian.[25a] For lack of space only one of the many stories of personal martyrdom is here given.

In the year 1539, on December 6, more than one hundred fifty brethren were seized at Steinabrunn in Austria and imprisoned in Castle Falkenstein. Among them were a number of delegates from the Philippite Congregation who had come for a conference with the Hutterian Brethren. Peter Riedemann, the author of the Confession of Faith of the Hutterians, arrived at Steinabrunn about a week after this to take part in the conference, but found only women and children who were in deep grief because all the men had been incarcerated in Falkenstein. The Hutterian Brethren who were in prison decided to recognize the Philippite Brethren as "true brethren in Christ and in the work of the Kingdom of God so long as they should be willing to hold fast to the Lord Christ for the sake of the testimony and truth of God, no matter in what need and suffering they might be."

The chronicler of the Brethren writes:[25b]

King Ferdinand sent his marshal and several Doctors [of theology] and Priests to Falkenstein, with an executioner as their aid (their high priest). In the Christmas holidays they started to break

down the imprisoned witnesses for the truth with great cunning, and tortured some on the rack and asked them what their ground and hope was, and where their treasures were. Thereupon they with one accord replied that Christ the Saviour alone was their comfort, hope, and dearest treasure, refuge and better portion, through whom they had received the grace and favor of the Father. At that the representatives of the king returned to Vienna. Then the king gave the clergy the authority to deal with the prisoners as they should deem best. Their decision was that since they were worthy of death they should be sent to the galleys to drag out their lives at the galley-benches in suffering and misery.

Thereupon the king's marshal, together with the sheriff, called "Lang Hans", and other horsemen, came to the imprisoned Brethren at Falkenstein. They questioned each brother separately again, but they did not give in, and remained steadfast to the truth. So they chained them together with iron collars and chains, two by two, and led them away.

In the meanwhile many sisters, their fellow-pilgrims in the faith, were imprisoned in Castle Falkenstein just as the men were being taken away to the galleys. Some of them were wives of some of the brethren, others were friends and relatives. Together they knelt down to pray the Father, the almighty God, with earnest intercession, that He should keep and protect them from all evil and wickedness on the sea, and grant them staunch spirits so that they might remain loyal to the truth until death.

After the prayer the sheriff warned them to prepare to leave. Then they began to take leave one of another with breaking heart but with strong encouragement that everyone might hold fast loyally to the truth until death. With that each one commended the other to the gracious protection of God, not knowing whether they should ever see one another again in the flesh.

Let each one judge for himself what a serious struggle that was for man and wife so to separate and leave small children behind. Yea, truly, flesh and blood could not have borne it. When the parting took place it was so sorrowful that even the royal sheriff and his aides could not keep from weeping.

At that time Hans Fuenfkircher ordered that an inscription should be placed over the entrance to the castle stating that so long as Falkenstein had stood there had never been so many pious people there as then.

Altogether ninety brethren were carried away to the galleys.

God in His providence made it possible that during the entire long journey, each morning and evening, each one could offer his prayer to God unmolested. Likewise each one was allowed to comfort and admonish his brethren without fear. Yea, the military escort, the royal officers, often addressed them and urged them not to go through the towns and villages in silence but to testify to their faith in song and speech.[25c] So finally they reached the city of Trieste.

But since God always keeps His own in remembrance, even in the direst need, He put it into the hearts of some in the prison to trust the Lord in confident hope that He would provide for them a way of escape. So they counseled together in the fear of God and were thoroughly determined to suffer and die for the sake of the truth rather than to take any part in the godless robber-business of the galleys on the sea.

In the twelfth night of their imprisonment in Trieste they escaped. They let themselves down over the city wall by means of the very ropes with which they had been led bound to prison. The greater part of them were able to return with joy and happy heart to the brotherhood in Moravia. But twelve persons were recaptured by the godless pursuit of the royal forces and were handed over to Andrea Doria, the imperial captain, who sent them to the galleys to be used as oarsmen. But the pious folk risked their lives and let themselves be beaten with thongs and prongs before they would put a hand to the oar. It is well to remember that if they remained true to the Lord, they could not have been privileged to enjoy life any longer.

A Stain on the History of Christendom

The sad feature about Hutterian martyrology is the fact that the persecutors were Christians of the Roman Catholic and state church Protestant persuasions. In the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits had virtually succeeded in extirpating the Hutterians, a remnant fled under the greatest difficulties to Roumania which was then under Moslem rule. Thus the sect was perpetuated. In all church history there is scarcely anything more disheartening than to see the fathers of Protestantism follow the footsteps of Rome in point of liberty of conscience. The question, "How is it to be accounted for that those who had preached Christian liberty and demanded toleration from the Romanists, stained their hands with the blood of devoted Christians whose only crime was that they had the courage of their Christian convictions?" may be answered in a word: *compromise.* It is the old story of the consequences of giving the devil the little finger.

The ruler of Saxony, Elector Frederick the Wise, took every possible precaution for Luther's safety, as did the government of Zurich for the protection of Zwingli. The leaders in the reformation movement, in turn, decided that in the reformation of the church the ecclesiastical leaders should go hand in hand with the civil authorities. On the Wartburg, three years before Lutheranism was established in Saxony, Luther wrote a booklet entitled, *A Faithful Admonition*, in which he addressed his friends as follows:[25d]

> Therefore look upon the civil government. As long as the civil authorities do not undertake anything (in the way of church reformation) and do not give a command, you should keep still with hand, mouth, and heart, and should not concern yourself about it. If you can persuade the government to proceed and give a command, you may do so. If the government is not willing, neither should you be. But if you proceed notwithstanding, you are in the wrong and are far worse than the other party [the Romanists].

The reformers consented to have the reformation of the church established by the heads of the state who in consequence introduced the new creed in their whole territory. The people were never asked to unite with a new church, yet the governments demanded that they accept the deviations from Romanism in doctrine and practice. Since the new creed was established by the strong arm of the state, it was but natural that the state would suppress all dissent, and this meant persecution for the dissenters. Thus one step naturally led to others until dissenters in Protestant territory fared no better than those under Roman Catholic rulers. The first step leading in this direction was defended on the ground that the cooperation of the state in the reformation of the church seemed to be desirable. In spite of the fact that the reformers held the Catholic mass to be blasphemy against God, the favor and aid of the state came soon to be considered so essential that the friends and followers of the reformers were asked to be contented with Catholic worship until the state should be ready to introduce the Reformation. Such were some of the first steps in a course that necessarily led to virtual uniformity with Rome in the treatment accorded to the dissenters. The fact that a wrong course had been entered upon at the outset was overlooked and ignored. Those who had these questions to decide persuaded themselves that to maintain the unity of the faith through the strong arm of the civil government was doing God a service, and necessary to the victory of their cause.

An Author of the 17th Century on the Life of the Brethren

Grimmelshausen in his "Simplicissimus", a famous novel of the times of the Thirty Years' War, gives the following account of the life of the Hutterians in Hungary:[26]

> Finally I recognized from all my studies that there is no better science than that of theology, if one is led through it to live for God and serve Him. And I became acquainted with a way of living which would be more angelic than human, namely if a community could be founded consisting of married and unmarried persons, men and women who, according to the example of the Anabaptists, would endeavor simply and only to win by the labor of the hands the needed bodily support under a competent leader, and busy itself in the remaining time with the praise and service of God and the salvation of their souls. I had personally seen in Hungary in the Anabaptist colonies such a life that, if those good people had not been mixed up in false and heretical opinions contrary to the general principles of the Christian church, I would have joined them or at least would have held their life to be the most blessed in the whole world. . . . . .
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> In the first place they had large treasure[27] and much food which however were by no means used extravagantly or unnecessarily. No profanity, no complaint, nor impatience was observed among them, yea, one heard no unnecessary word. There I saw the craftsmen working in their shops as though they were under contract. Their school teachers taught the youth as though they were their own children. Nowhere did I see men and women together but everywhere each sex was performing its own work apart from the other. I found rooms in which there were only nursing mothers who without the supervision of men were abundantly supplied, together with their infant children, with the necessary attention by their sisters. This duty of caring for the nursing mothers and children was committed to the widows alone.
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> Elsewhere I saw over a hundred women with distaffs. One was a washwoman, another a bed-maker, a third a stable-maid, a fourth, dishwasher, a fifth, linen maid, and so all others also had a particular work to do. And just as the duties were systematically assigned to the women, so each one of the men and youths knew his business, which he performed in the most praiseworthy manner and unconstrained.
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> If one or the other became ill, that one had a special caretaker; also each sex had a physician and an apothecary, although due to the praiseworthy diet and good habits they seldom became ill on account of which I saw among them many a well-preserved man in a good, healthy, and peaceful high old age such as are scarcely to be found

elsewhere. They had their regular hours for eating and for sleeping but not a moment for playing and pleasure-walking except the youth who took recreational walks with the school-teacher after every meal for a half hour for the sake of health. There was no anger, no jealousy, no vengeful spirit, no envy, no enmity, no concern about temporal things, no pride, no vanity, no passion for gambling, no remorse; in a word, there was throughout and altogether a lovely harmony. They also called each other brothers and sisters.

Now, a community leading such a noble, blessed life as these Anabaptist heretics I should have liked to establish within the Roman Catholic Church for, as far as I could see, it surpasses even the monastic life. I thought to myself: If you could accomplish such a task and establish such a noble way of Christian living among orthodox Christians under the protection of the authorities, you would be a second Saint Dominic or Saint Francis. I often said to myself: if you could just convert the Anabaptists so that they would teach your brethren in the faith their art of living, what a blessed man you would be. Or, if you could only persuade your fellow-Christians that they should lead, like these Anabaptists, such an apparently Christian and noble life, what would you not have accomplished thereby.

The Testimony of a Bitter Opponent of the Brethren

Christoph Andreas Fischer's polemical books against the Hutterian Brethren contain many coarse slanders and abusive calumnies and are therefore to be used with great care; nevertheless they are valuable sources of information concerning the condition of the Hutterian brotherhood in the sixteenth century. They contain, for example, important testimony as to the unlimited confidence which many Moravian lords had in the Brethren. Their thoroughness and conscientiousness had been tested by the lords many times. They gladly committed to them the most important positions of trust. Christoph Andreas Fischer writes:

> As soon as an Anabaptist comes to the lords in Moravia he has it the best with them. The lords do not desire to read or even to see the birth certificate or testimony of training. They do not require recommendations or certificates of previous services from them. The lords are satisfied just because they are Anabaptists and from then on they have the first place at the table and are entrusted with land and people. Is this not blindness? Never do they promote a Christian without exact knowledge of them and yet such favor do they show the Anabaptists.[28]

The Anabaptists have the greatest favor among the nobility.

They have the preference as managers of estates, be it dairy farms, wheat land, mill, tile yard, garden, or any other property. They are appointed by them to high positions in the castles, such as manager, steward, and keeper.[29]

In the first place, the lords must pay the Anabaptists greater salaries and wages than the Christians who have formerly held the same positions. This can be proved by the account books of some of the lords.[30]

The lords give the Anabaptists such great freedom that in certain offices they do not even require an account from them.[31]

It is displeasing to God that the lords tolerate them and entrust their estates to them. It is contrary to Christian love. For if a Jew helps another Jew and a heathen favors another, why should not Christians also help each other? To this some one may reply, "It is true, it would be more just, but the Christians are not so faithful and reliable as the Anabaptists; therefore it is needful for the lords to employ the latter."[32]

A chronicler of the Brethren writes concerning this point:

Some of the lords preferred them above any one else for service and labor. For this reason there were too few of them in the land for the lords. On account of their faithfulness their services were in general demand, while on account of their religion their number was, in the opinion of many, too large. Some of the lords were unfavorably disposed toward them and, for their faith's sake, did not want to tolerate them in the land. Others were angry with them when they could not get as many as they desired for their service, and were, as was often the case, compelled to wait for years before their wishes could be granted." Nevertheless, it was at last realized that service in prominent positions for the lords did not prove a blessing to the brotherhood, since for some of them the temptation to give up the strictly simple life of the brotherhood was too great.[33]

Fisher further says concerning the Brethren:

These hypocritical Anabaptists live outwardly such an apparently good life that even the Christian would swear that they were the most patient and peaceful, and caused no trouble in the least to anyone.[34] [And yet they are for him "the most godless and accursed sect."]

They glory in their supposed martyrs who because of their stubbornness were burned, decapitated, drowned, or executed in other

ways.[35] Is it not true that all Moravia, since it has taken in this vermin, has never been punished so as now and that it can no longer expect any good star, any fortune, any blessing?[36]

Of the Jew occasionally some are converted to the Christian faith but among thousands of Anabaptists not a one is converted, for which reason the Jews are more to be tolerated, while the Anabaptists are to be looked upon as the most desperate enemies of Christendom and as worse than the Turks and therefore to be totally exterminated.[37]

In his book entitled *Von der Wiedertaeufer Verfluchtem Ursprung* (Of the Cursed Beginnings of the Anabaptists), Fischer[38] writes as follows:

Among all the sects not a one has a better appearance and a greater external holiness than the Moravian Anabaptists. Other sects are for the most part riotous, blood-thirsty, and given over to fleshly lusts; not so the Anabaptists. They call each other brethren and sisters, they use no profanity, they scold not, they swear not, they use no weapons. They use no vain display, they do not wear clothes to show worldly glory, they have nothing of their own but everything in common, they do not go to law before the authorities and bear everything patiently, as they say, in the Holy Spirit. "Who should suppose," says this writer in conclusion, "that under their sheep's clothing only ravenous wolves are to be found?"

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. On Hubmaier compare Loserth, J., *Doctor Balthasar Hubmaier und die Anfaenge der Wiedertaufe in Maehren,* Bruenn, 1893; Mau, W., *Balthasar Hubmaier,* Berlin und Leipzig, 1912; Sachsse, C., *Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe,* Berlin, 1914; Schreiber, H., *Balthasar Hubmaier, der Stifter der Wiedertaeufer auf dem Schwarzwalde.* (In *Taschenbuch fuer Geschichte und Alterthum in Sueddeutschland.* Freiburg i. B., 1839); Vedder, H. C., *Balthasar Hubmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists,* New York, 1905.
2. A partial community of goods had been introduced by Jacob Widemann and his friends before their departure from Nicolsburg. One of the complaints made by them concerning the large Anabaptist congregation at that place was that "they do not give shelter to the pilgrims and refugees from other countries" many of whom arrived penniless. The numbers of the refugees were so great that it meant a real sacrifice to care for them. To Jacob Widemann must be ascribed the initiative in taking steps which finally led to the introduction of community of goods. Apparently Widemann was a man of intense conviction. He was executed for his faith in Vienna, in 1535 or 1536.
3. Of Jacob Hutter's early life nothing is known. Evidently he had attended a good common school for he was able to express himself well in writing. The name Hutter (Hueter) means hatter and hat-making was his earlier occupation. He was a man of firm convictions and deep consecration, of eminent organizing talent and great will power. During his imprisonment in Innsbruck the most cruel torture was employed to force him to recant. "He remained steadfast

and true to the faith," says the chronicler, "as a Christian hero. Finally he was, by the evil sons of Caiaphas and Pilate, tied to the stake and burned alive. With great joy he gave his life as a testimony to the truth." Christoph Andreas Fischer, in his book, *Der Hutterischen Widertauffer Taubenkobel,* Ingolstadt, 1607, has a chapter on "The Life of Jacob Hutter" (pp. 55-57), consisting of quotations from a booklet written by an opponent of Hutter, Gabriel Ascherham, entitled, *Anzeigung vom Zwyspalt der gemeyn inn Maehren wie sich der erhebet hat.* The excerpts from this booklet, as quoted by Fischer, give only a few data and these are of doubtful value. Cf. Hege, Art. Ascherham, *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I.

4. The designation "bishop" was not in use among the Hutterians, presumably for the reason that this title was in their thinking closely associated with Romanism and was not in use among Protestants except in the Church of England (which made no claim of being Protestant) and in the Lutheran Scandinavian countries. Yet the Hutterian Brethren in Moravia and later in Hungary had a head pastor to whom was entrusted the leadership and spiritual oversight of the whole brotherhood. Among the Hutterians all ministers and officers were accountable to the congregations and could be deposed in case of unfaithfulness. One of the head pastors, Rudolph Hirtzel, chosen in 1621, was silenced the same year, having acted very unwisely in an important matter.

5. The Hutterian Brethren, being strict adherents to the principle of nonresistance, refused to pay war taxes. Actual military service was never asked of them in Moravia.

6. As previously stated, Hubmaier and the church established by him at Nicolsburg did not accept the principle of nonresistance. Had they shared the position of the Swiss Brethren and of Jacob Widemann on this point, they could not have approved the expulsion of dissenters.

7. At the present time there are a number of prominent denominations which practice infant baptism without considering the baptized infants church members. Their membership consists of such as of their own accord have united with them.

8. It has been supposed by a number of writers that the principle of toleration, as defended by the Hutterians and Mennonites, meant that any religious opinion, or creed, should be tolerated within the brotherhood. Nothing could be farther from the truth. They defended a well defined body of doctrine whose acceptance was the condition of membership in their organizations. A number of persons were excluded from these groups because of holding unscriptural doctrine contrary to the constitution of the groups.

9. The official text in full of the Edict of the Diet of Speyer of 1529 against the Anabaptists may be found in *Aller des Heiligen Roemischen Reichs gehaltene Reichstage, Abschiede und Satzungen,* Mainz, 1666, pp. 210, 211. Full text is to be found also in *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon und Geistliches Ruest-Haus,* etc., 1702, pp. 6-8; likewise edited by Ludwig Keller in *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft,* vol. 9, Berlin, pp. 55-57. It will be recalled that the revolutionary Anabaptists of Muenster arose at a later date, namely in 1533.

10. Fischer, Christoph Andreas, *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen Warumb die Widertauffer nicht sein im Land zu leyden.* (Fifty-four Important Reasons why the Anabaptists Should Not Be Tolerated in the Land). Ingolstadt (Bavaria) 1607, p. 106. Another book of the same author has the title, *"Der Hutterischen Widertauffer Taubenkobel In Welchem all ihr Wuest, Mist, Kott und Unflat, das ist ihr falsche, stinckende unflaetige und abscheuliche Lehren werden erzaehlet.* Ingolstadt, 1607. Both books are in the Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale, Pa. Cf. Loserth, Art. Fischer, C. A., in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I.

11. "One can grasp," says Dr. Johann Loserth, "that the Moravian nobility, when it came to the expulsion of the Anabaptists, was only protecting its own interests when it emphatically intervened on their behalf." The members of the brotherhood who were in the service of the lords, "recommended themselves

by their unconditional faithfulness and conscientiousness." Professor Loesche in Vienna says, "The nobility of the land saw their houses and lands, fields and meadows, their whole business well cared for by Anabaptist managers, and were absolutely sure that they would not be imposed upon, or defrauded, by them. In their own interests they energetically opposed the expulsion of the Brethren." From *Theologischer Jahresbericht,* herausgegeben von Krueger und Schian, Leipzig, 1895, p. 296, a book review.

12. All parties and sects of the Reformation period which disapproved of the practice of infant baptism were called Anabaptists. By the governments and leading theologians they were all considered as being of one party. And yet there were the most fundamental differences between some of these sects.

13. *Kessler's Sabbata,* herausgegeben von Egli und Schoch, St. Gallen, 1902, p. 340.

14. Kurtz, J. H., *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte fuer Studierende,* Neunte Auflage, Band 2, Leipzig, 1885, p. 156. This testimony is the more noteworthy as Professor Kurtz had a decidedly unfavorable opinion of all parties and sects which dissented from both Romanism and state church Protestantism. He shared the view of the earlier Protestant theologians who considered all such as fanatics ranking even beneath Romanism. Dr. Kurtz, in the work from which this citation is taken, treats all parties and sects called Anabaptists under the general heading, "The Deformation of the Church."

15. *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brueder.* Macleod, Alta, Canada, und Wien, 1923, pp. 331-337.

16. The chronicles tell of many instances in which horses and cattle were taken from the Brethren by the authorities to be sold and the proceeds to be used for the payment of war taxes. This procedure had the approval of the Moravian diet. (Compare Fischer, *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen,* p. 57).

17. A great number of religious hymns were composed in the Hutterian Brotherhood. Singing had evidently a large place in the life of their communities. The book, *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder,* Scottdale, 1914, contains nearly all their hymns, printed from old manuscripts.

18. A recent writer says of the present-day Hutterian Brethren: "The Hutterian Church regulates many of the minutest details of life, as, for example, all matters of dress. Clothing is nearly uniform, and always very plain, very modest and very serviceable. The men wear dark gray suits with loose trousers and sack coats. Their hats are round and black. The women wear dark figured dresses with long, full skirts, plain waists that have long sleeves and come up to the neck. Their headdress is a dark kerchief with white polka dots, folded diagonally. With them dress is not a matter of personal taste, but a matter of religion; and their dress is the great mark of their religious order." (Clark, Bertha W., *The Hutterian Communities,* in the Journal of Political Economy, vol. XXXII, No. 4, August, 1924).

19. A striking testimony to the point is found in a book published in 1587 by Christoph Erhardus, a noted Roman Catholic theologian, who, beside Christoph Andreas Fischer, was the chief literary opponent of the Hutterian Brethren. "It is rare, indeed," he says, "that one who leaves the Hutterians and again unites with the Catholic Church, remains steadfast in the true faith." He gives examples of members of the Hutterian brotherhood who embraced the Roman Catholic faith, only to "relapse" and again turn to the Hutterians. "No true Catholic Christian in Moravia," he says further, "believes that any conversions of Hutterians to the Catholic faith are lasting or genuine." ("Dass ihnen, den abgefallenen Hutterischen Bruedern, kein wahrer katholischer Christ in Maehren nit mehr trauen und auff ihre Bekehrung etwas halten wiill.) From *Zwelff wichtige und starcke Ursachen Hansen Jedelshausers von Ulm Warumb er von den Widertauffern, so man Hutterische Brueder nennt, sei abgetretten, dieselben verlassen, sich aber zu der Catholischen Roemischen Kirchen bekehrt habe.* Ingolstadt, 1587, sig. A 2 v. (Copy in the Mennonite Historical Library, Scottdale, Pa.) Cf. Loserth, Art. Erhard in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I.

20. *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder,* pp. 650-652.

21. *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brueder,* p. 181.
22. *Ibid.,* p. 333.
23. *Ibid.,* pp. 182-189.
24. It is a fact established from various sources that using profanity, or wilfully committing other sins, was considered a proof that a person accused of Anabaptism was free from that "heresy."
25. The reviewer of a book on Hutterian history in *Neues Wiener Abendblatt* (January 27, 1925) says: "In our time of religious impotency we can scarcely imagine that there ever were those who laid down their lives for their faith." A number of modern religious writers have contemptuously referred to those who were willing to suffer martyrdom for their faith as "bigots". The fact is that, considered from the point of view of the modern interpretation of the Christian religion, doctrine and creed are secondary and a willingness for martyrdom for Christian doctrine is uncalled for.

25a. Newman, A. H., "Balthazar Hubmaier and the Moravian Anabaptists, in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* September, 1927, p. 20.

25b. *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brueder,* pp. 155-163; Van Braght, T. J., *Martyrs' Mirror of the Defenceless Christians,* Translated from the Dutch, Elkhart, Ind., 1886, pp. 434-436.

25c. The officials and wardens of prisons often sympathized with imprisoned Brethren and in not a few cases made it possible for them to escape.

25d. Erlangen edition of Luther's Works (German), Vol. XXII, p. 49. In the Weimar edition this booklet is found in Vol. VIII, pp. 676-688.

26. The author of this work, himself a Catholic, had visited the Hutterians in Hungary and wrote from his own observations. Part 5 of chapter 19 of his book treats of this subject. Hans Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen (1625?-1676) wrote his famous *Simplicius Simpliccissimus* in 1668.
27. Grimmelshausen's statement concerning this point is, of course, founded on hearsay and surmise. It is true that such communities could not live "from hand to mouth", and that the officials in charge of the economic affairs laid by capital reserves, for their operations which were on necessity used to buy current consumption goods also.
28. *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen,* p. 84.
29. *Ibid.,* p. 108.
30. *Ibid.,* p. 113.
31. *Ibid.,* p. 114.
32. *Ibid.,* p. 111.
33. *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brueder,* p. 335.
34. *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen,* p. 76.
35. *Ibid.,* p. 93.
36. *Ibid.,* p. 124.
37. *Ibid.,* p. 119.
38. Fischer, C. A., *Von der Wiedertaeufer Verfluchtem Ursprung, Gottlosen Lehre, und derselben Gruendtliche Widerlegung,* Bruck a. d. Teya, 1603, sig. A2v. This book is very rare. The writer has used the copy in the British Museum in London. A reply to this work was published by Claus Braidl, the bishop of the Hutterian brotherhood under the title, *Ein Widerlegung und warhaffte Verantwortung der allergrausamisten Gotteslesterung, Schmach und unwarhafftigen Beschuldigungen, so Christoph Andreas Fischer, Pfarrer zu Feldsperg ueber uns Brueder erdacht.* Fischer, in turn, replied to this booklet in his *Antwort auff die Widerlegung, so Claus Breutel, der Wiedertauffer Koenig und Oberste, samht seinen Spiessgesellen hat getan,* a copy of which is in the Mennonite Library in Amsterdam. Cf. Hege, Art. Braidl, *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I. The booklet by Braidl is the only one published by the Hutterian Brethren in the 16th century, except the *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens,* by Peter Riedemann. Their numerous other books were all in manuscript only.

The Mennonite Attitude and the Modern Peace Movement as Illustrated by the St. Louis Meeting of the World Alliance

Guy F. Hershberger

I.

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, which has its headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, held its twelfth annual meeting at St. Louis, November 9, 10, and 11, 1927. This organization, founded in 1914, is under the leadership of a number of prominent men who devote all or part of their time to the cause of world peace. The World Alliance is, in fact, an international organization, having branches in various countries, and the St. Louis meeting was really a meeting of the American branch of the organization.

While one of the chief aims of the Alliance, as the full title suggests, is to advance the cause of peace by enlisting the support of the Churches, the American branch, at least, elects its own officials, maintains its own organizations and does not have the official recognition of any denomination. Many of the individuals who are prominent in the leadership of the organization, however, are also well-known leaders in various denominations.

Through its executive staff the World Alliance does a large amount of work such as holding meetings and conferences in churches and schools, arranging for the exchange of speakers with foreign countries, distributing peace literature, and submitting peace news to newspapers and periodicals. In Europe a special effort is made to bring together representatives, official and unofficial, of various countries to discuss the many perplexing international problems which are likely to cause war. In this way it is hoped that a better understanding among nations may be made possible.

The World Alliance is clearly not a non-resistant or a pacifist organization which regards participation in war, as such, necessarily sinful for the individual. As far as the Alliance is officially concerned, individuals may think as they wish on that question. The Alliance, in the words of its president, William P. Merrill, aims merely to enlist the cooperation of lovers of peace and haters of war to the end that something may be done to awaken the conscience of the Church, the public, and of governments against waging war. It should also be added that the World Alliance has no definite doctrinal standard to which its members subscribe. This is regarded as foreign to the purpose of the Alliance. Within the organization are found various types of religious belief including Jews, Protestants,

and Catholics, some of which are theologically conservative and some quite modernistic.

The St. Louis meeting seemed to reflect fairly well the purposes and aims of the Alliance as outlined above. The speeches and addresses centered largely around the central theme of the Conference: *Must We Have War?* While the believer in non-resistance could not help but feel that certain very important things were lacking in some of the addresses given, attitudes expressed, and resolutions adopted, yet he could not help but appreciate the fact, on the other hand, that many sincere men and women were earnestly grappling with the great problems of peace and war.

The program consisted of the usual reports of the organization officials and of a number of excellent addresses by men and women able to speak intelligently on world problems and international relations. Outstanding among these were Henry Wickham Steed of London, England, editor of the London *Review of Reviews,* Professor Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard Law School, Rabbi Leon Harrison of St. Louis, Colonel Raymond Robins of Chicago, Honorable Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, and William P. Merrill, president of the Alliance.

It was very evident that none of these men are visionaries, blindly optimistic about the future of world peace. They are not expecting to usher in a millennium by speaking glibly about the foolishness of war. There was no cheap talk at the St. Louis meeting about the impossibility of war. The gravity of the present world situation was generally recognized. Mr. Steed especially cautioned his hearers not to underestimate the seriousness and the difficulty of the task in which advocates of peace are engaged. He stated that getting rid of war is harder than many are inclined to think, and even questioned whether peace is the natural state of man. He pointed out that there must be peace in the minds of individuals before we can have peace between nations. Possibly all prominent leaders of the contemporary peace movements recognize this fact. Hence there is general accord in the belief that there must be much effective peace teaching.

But in other matters there is frequently much difference of opinion both in the general peace movement and in the World Alliance. Certain leaders are strongly of the opinion that the United States should enter the League of Nations. Others are certain that the contrary is true. Then there is a difference of opinion on the question of the World Court, and on a number of other points. A few echoes of discord were noticeable at the St. Louis meeting, but there was sufficient harmony to enable the committee on resolutions to adopt a program which practically all delegates could support. The committee adopted a suggestion made by Mr. Steed

that the United States pledge itself not to give aid to an aggressor nation engaged in war. This, of course, presents the problem of determining whether a warring nation is an aggressor or not, but granting that this point can be determined the suggestion has its value.

Professor Hudson reviewed for the conference the record of the United States in arbitration and treaty making. It was his conclusion that the United States is not at the present time maintaining her former record and urged that steps be taken to renew treaties which have been permitted to expire as well as to make new agreements.

Professor Shotwell, in an address which was possibly the most constructive on the entire program, emphasized the value of treaties, arbitration, and especially conferences, as methods of attaining world peace. It is Shotwell's opinion that if representatives of various nations get together informally and simply talk about their problems with no intention to sign a treaty, much good can be accomplished. Many prejudices can be removed by merely getting acquainted with the other man. This idea was in part carried out in the St. Louis meeting itself by the presence of official and unofficial representatives from England, Canada, France, Mexico, Cuba, and a number of other Latin-American states.

Professor Shotwell, however, is not satisfied with conferences merely. He hopes that conferences and such other methods as may be employed may be instrumental in securing the rejection of war by the nations as a part of the machinery of statesmanship. War must be renounced as an instrument of policy. This idea supports the movement for the Outlawry of War, that phase of the contemporary peace movement which promises to play the leading part in the immediate future.

Colonel Robins, a prominent outlawry advocate, delivered a stirring address in which he pointed out the possibility of rejecting the entire war system by a general agreement and the plighted word of all the nations. So far most plans for world peace have recognized the war system as a legal institution and have attempted to do something to keep the system from functioning. The outlawrist would scrap the system itself by direct action of all the nations. It would seem that this suggestion arrives more nearly at a solution of the war problem than any proposal yet made short of adopting the principle of non-resistance itself.

The problem of the aggressor nation, the functioning of world organizations, such as the League of Nations, the value of treaties and arbitration, and the outlawry of war were the outstanding subjects of interest at the St. Louis conference. At the legal session of the meeting a list of twelve resolutions was adopted in which the following ideas and policies were approved.

1. The outlawry of war by general agreement among the nations.
2. Refusal of the United States in the event of war to give aid or comfort to an aggressor.
3. More effective cooperation with the League of Nations.
4. Further consideration by the United States of membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice.
5. Willingness of the United States to bear her share of the burden in the inter-allied debt problem.
6. Reduction of armaments.
7. Recognition of the full and unqualified sovereignty of the Latin-American states.
8. The freedom of China from domination and interference by foreign powers.
9. Non-discrimination against certain races and nations in the enactment of legislation regulating immigration to the United States.
10. Elimination of military training from schools and colleges.
11. Extensive and effective teaching of peace ideals in church and school.
12. Cooperation among the various peace organizations.

There are many organized peace movements at work today. The World Alliance is one of them. Among these organizations there is no definitely stated opinion regarding the moral obligations of the individual in case his country is engaged in war. The great majority, however, would doubtless regard it the duty of the citizen to defend his country with arms when called upon to do so. But there is, on the other hand, a general unanimity of opinion that the time has come when war ought no longer have a place in our social order and that something should, therefore, be done to avoid it. It is along this line that these organizations are working.

II.

The Mennonite Church, likewise, believes that war should be avoided by the state, but also insists that war is morally wrong now and that it always was wrong because it is in violation of God's moral law. Therefore, the individual actually sins when he takes any part in war at all. Here is at least one feature of difference between pacifism as taught by the Mennonite Church and the pacifism of some contemporary movements.

Since a difference of viewpoint is discernable there is a question in the minds of many regarding the attitude which the Mennonite Church should take toward the organized peace movement. There is also a question as to the extent to which peace teaching should be done outside of Menno-

nite circles. Some feel that the attempt to avoid war is more or less useless since war is inevitable. The opinion is sometimes expressed that peace is for the Church only and that governments *must* wage war since they are not Christian; therefore it is folly for the Church to urge peace as a policy of governments. Some feel on the other hand that it might be well enough for the governments to do something to avoid war, but that the Church should have no interest in the matter, since it is not the business of the Church to run the government. It is also stated by some that since it is the function of the Church to evangelize the world any interest in world peace indicates the substitution of the social gospel for the gospel of salvation. This opinion holds that world peace will come only to the extent that men accept the gospel message. The Church should therefore spend time only in preaching salvation. Others feel that since the peace movement does not take a united position against participation by the individual in the event of war the believer in non-resistance would compromise his position by showing an interest in the other program. The position is also held that since some peace leaders are not soundly evangelical in their doctrinal beliefs the Mennonite Church is endangering her own doctrinal position by showing an interest in the organized peace movement.

It would seem to the writer that while the objections mentioned contain certain elements of truth deserving serious consideration, they are hardly adequate as a statement of the viewpoint of a consistent non-resistant Christian. Is it absolutely certain that war among the great nations of the world is inevitable and that nothing can be done even to reduce the number of them? It would seem that to prevent one war such as the late World War would be worth while, not only economically and socially, but spiritually as well. For it is certain that the moral degradation which followed the World War has been responsible for dragging down many souls to perdition.

As to the impossibility of peace for governments since they are not Christian it might be pointed out that certainly some officials are Christians and perhaps even some who are not are capable of exercising certain Christian principles, just as there are non-Christian individuals who are able to refrain from murder or from stealing. If a large body of peace-loving people should constantly keep their viewpoint before such officials, is it not reasonable to suppose that some good may be done? The Mennonite Church has from the beginning refrained from active participation in politics and the suggestion that it is not the business of the Church to run the government is entirely scriptural and true to Mennonite practice. But it might be questioned whether informing our officials as to what the

Church believes about war in general or about specific matters of policy such as the naval building program proposed by our navy department last December, should be considered as running the government. The best congressmen and officials want to know the opinion of the citizenry on such matters. And they are ready to honor the opinions of even the non-resistant citizens. For a non-resistant Christian to express an opinion to a congressman, is hardly a violation of the principle of non-resistance and is not so interpreted by the government of the United States.

In regard to the question whether an interest in world peace indicates a substitution of the social gospel for the gospel of salvation, it should be said that there are some peace leaders who would place the peace program above evangelization in order of importance, just as some educators put education above salvation, or as some social workers put caring for the physical needs of poor children above salvation. But the Mennonite Church has seen fit to establish schools and to care for the poor. Both of these types of service are engaged in along with mission work, and neither is regarded as a substitute for evangelization, but as an auxiliary to it. Would it not be well to think of peace teaching in somewhat the same manner? The attention of the government and of the general public could often be profitably called to the New Testament peace message. While this message might frequently fall on barren soil, might it not sometimes, perchance, fall on good soil also? The practice of non-resistance in the Church is an outgrowth of regeneration, not a substitute for it. And yet, wherever this principle is practiced in the Church or community it proves to be a blessing to all.

In such a case the effect would be worth while whether the persons induced to use their influence against war are Christian or non-Christian. But it would seem that the non-resistant churches have a special opportunity to present their point of view to other Christian bodies. While Mennonites may feel that all persons who accept the salvation which is in Christ Jesus should, because of that fact, accept the New Testament principles of peace, yet it is true that many do not. When a man accepts Christ it does not follow that he needs no further enlightenment concerning the principles of Christian living. Among Christian people can be found every attitude on war and peace, ranging from the most narrowly nationalistic to the extreme non-resistant point of view. Non-Christians, in fact, can be found who seem to be much nearer the scriptural teachings on peace than many Christians. One could not help but feel, for instance, that the Jewish Rabbi who spoke at the St. Louis meeting of the World Alliance was far more nearly Christian in his attitude on peace than some of the members of Christian churches who appeared on the program.

Many Christians who do have a conscience against war take an attitude which the believer in non-resistance must regard as quite inadequate. There is too often a tendency to favor peace in time of peace, but not to favor it in time of war. Since this is the case, is there not an opportunity to arouse Christians who are unconcerned about the evils of war, and to encourage those who do see its evils to take a positive and determined stand against war under all circumstances because, according to the Holy Scriptures, it is morally wrong? If this could be done it would put into the peace movement a powerful dynamic which is too often found wanting at the present time.

The objection to showing an active interest in other peace organizations because they are not united against participation in war on the part of the individual when his country calls and because some peace leaders are not soundly evangelical in their doctrinal beliefs deserves some consideration. Here it should be said that the Mennonite Church should not compromise her position through official connection with other movements. But it would seem, on the other hand, that the Mennonite Church should keep herself fully informed regarding the activities of other organizations, and perhaps learn from them how more effectively to get the New Testament peace message across to the outside world. Would it not be wise to take a suggestion from another organization when it is able to point out an opportunity to present that message to a particular group of persons or government officials at a particularly opportune time? Do not Mennonite city missions have a similar relationship to the organized charities of the cities, yet without maintaining any official connection with these organizations? The same can be said regarding the relationship of Mennonite mission boards to such charitable organizations as the Near East Relief.

In view of the above considerations it would seem that a peace policy somewhat as follows would be in harmony with Mennonite beliefs on the subject. The Peace Problems Committee, in fact, is working along these lines.

1. Constant study of the scriptural teachings on peace, and of the past history of the Mennonite Church in its endeavor to live these principles.
2. The education and more thorough indoctrination of the Church in these principles, through sermons, the Young People's Meeting, the Sunday School, and through the publication of peace literature.
3. A careful study of other peace movements and organizations so that the Church may be fully informed as to their programs and methods as well as to points in their position with which the

believer in New Testament non-resistance cannot agree.

4. Keeping in touch with pending legislation which affects the peace principles of the Church. If certain officials are fully informed in these matters it will be possible for the Church to know constantly what problems are before her. And it will be possible to know at what times and in what ways it is advisable to appeal to the government on matters affecting the beliefs of the Church.
5. Appealing to other Christians to take a definite stand on the New Testament peace principles.
6. Letting the world know effectively and intelligently what the position of the Mennonite Church is.
7. Making the Church schools productive centers of study of this as well as of the other great principles in which the Church believes.

John Kephart [1751-1822], Minister of the Doylestown Mennonite Congregation 1806-1822

A Brief Biography

Calvin Ira Kephart

During the Colonial and post-Revolutionary War periods, when the rural districts were sparsely settled, roads were poor, and the usual means of transportation was by horse or carriage, many a community enjoyed religious ministration only because of the self-sacrificing devotion and untiring energy of some inspired local preacher. Often these men were, in addition, the principal educational leaders of their respective sections. Our public school systeem had not yet been deve'oped, and the people looked largely to them for guidance in this respect also. Less noteworthy and beneficial service has been the subject of song and prose. Too little is known about the noble work done by these unselfish individuals and of the ethical and moral benefit that thereby accrued to the communities served and the country at large during a vital period of its history.

A notable representative of the effective country ministers of the late post-Revolutionary War period was John Kephart, who from approximately 1806 to 1822 ministered to the Mennonite congregations at Doylestown and Deep Run in upper Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He was not born in a Mennonite family, but became a Mennonite after marriage, prior to which he had rendered equally as faithful service in another great cause, that of gaining our country's independence.

The second child and eldest son in a large family, Mr. Kephart was born in southern Baden, Germany, on February 13, 1751. This Kephart (Gebhart) family is of Swiss and earlier Alsatian baronial origin, from the same stock from which descended the famous French author, Emile Gebhart, one of the immortals of the French Academy, and other notables of Alsace, Switzerland, and Baden. Members settled in the cantons Basel and Bern, Switzerland, in the latter part of the 14th century. Their descendants became prominent in those districts, eleven having been members of the cantonal legislature at Basel. One in 1592 was mayor of that city.

The immigrant, Heinrich Gebhart (Kephart, Capehart), circa 1724-1795, with his wife, daughter Rachel, and sons John and Jacob, arrived at Philadelphia on the ship "Edinburgh" on September 30, 1754, and took the oath of allegiance to William Penn's province. Henry was a miller at or near Frankford, Philadelphia County, until forced to discontinue because his two sons were in the Continental army when the British seized Philadelphia in June, 1777. He and his third son Andrew then retired for a few years to Cumberland county, where both served in the

militia. Thus, the father and four sons served in the American forces in attaining our independence. The "Kephart" form of the name persists in the lines of the sons John and Jacob, while that of "Capehart" persists in the lines of the sons Andrew and George.

John Kephart enlisted from Philadelphia county in Captain George Hubley's company of the German (or Second Pennsylvania) regiment of the Continental army on October 23, 1778. His brother Jacob was in the same regiment. This organization rendered exceptional service. It participated in the historic battles of the eastern Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Delaware arena, including the famous crossing of the Delaware, the hardships of the memorable winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, and the punitive expedition against the Six Nations Indians after the Wyoming Valley massacre. While campaigning through northern Bucks County in 1779, he met and married Elizabeth Fretz, born June 30, 1756, daughter of Jacob and Magdalena (Nash) Fretz, a prominent Mennonite family of the Deep Run congregation, whose descendants have been active in the county's affairs from colonial times down to the present.

After the war, John and Elizabeth settled in Gwynedd township, Montgomery (formerly a part of Philadelphia) county. In 1802 he acquired a 140-acre plantation along beautiful Neshaminy creek in New Britain township, 3 miles west of Doylestown, Bucks county, to which they moved. They at once became communicants of the Doylestown Mennonite congregation. A few years later, when approximately 55 years old, Mr. Kephart was ordained to the ministry and faithfully served the Doylestown and Deep Run congregations until a short time prior to his death on August 31, 1822. His devoted wife followed him on February 13, 1831. They are buried in the graveyard of the Doylestown church, in the northeast corner, directly behind the church. The inscription on their tombstones and those of other members of the family is clear and legible today.

The church land, comprising originally 7 acres and 56 perches, was purchased December 5, 1774, for 45 pounds, current money of Pennsylvania, "paid by said grantees out of collections made for religious uses by the members of the church society of Christians called Mennonist Meeting in said township of New Britain". The grantors were David and Sarah Worthington and the grantees, the trustees for the congregation, were Jacob Rhoar and Jacob Haldeman, yeomen, of New Britain township, Ludwick Switzer, weaver, of Warwick township, and Jacob Kulp, yeoman, of Buckingham township, Bucks county. The site is about a mile northwest of Doylestown. The original log meeting-house, among the first in the county, was erected in 1775 by members of the congregation.

It was replaced about 1808, early in the ministry of John Kephart, by a stone structure, which was enlarged in 1849. The latter, in turn, was replaced by the present structure in 1901. The present building is of pointed stone, one story, 42 feet by 64 feet, and typical in appearance. It stands on an eminence, just away from the road, facing east by north. The burial ground, separated from the church-yard by a stone wall, lies immediately behind and to the south. As with most rural churches, there are sheds for teams and automobiles. These lie to the north of the building and graveyard. The church is equipped with the usual plain, straight, high-backed, wooden seats across the main room and in the Sunday school room behind the pulpit. The latter, which is somewhat elevated, is much like a narrow store counter. It extends the distance between the two aisles, which lead through the two rooms and out the rear as well as the front. Such a pulpit undoubtedly is a convenient one for the pastor, for, with his open Bible resting on the pulpit-stand before him, he can stride back and forth while impressively expounding the Gospel to his congregation. At the same time there is ample space for him to sit down when appropriate.

One can readily visualize John Kephart thus explaining the word of God to the good Mennonite people of that community over one hundred years ago. Around the triangular circuit of probably ten miles from his plantation on the Neshaminy creek to the Doylestown meeting house, to Deep Run, and then back home, he performed not only the duties but also the numerous humanitarian acts expected of and usually cheerfully performed by this type of public servant. Preaching, teaching religious classes, officiating at marriages, baptisms, and funerals, assisting perhaps in community education and singing clubs, advising members of his congregation on innumerable private matters and in their communications with relations in the old country, in addition to operating his own farm, all doubtless kept his time fully and beneficially occupied. This opportunity for service well fitted his temperament. There is no class of people who are more helpful to one another, or who more nearly practice what they preach, than the Mennonites.

The writer's aunt, Mrs. F. B. (Emma Kephart) Hampton, still living, states that when a young lady about 1875-1880 she was informed by Mary (nee Silvius) Geil, born 1798, died 1887, wife of Henry Geil and a member of the Doylestown congregation during the ministry of John Kephart and his successors, that the former was one of the most effective and impressive ministers that ever entered a pulpit. He was of medium height and weight, dark-eyed, robust, and handsome in appearance, vigorous, but calm and poised, sincere, and alert in manner. His German Bible,

one of the 1763 edition by Sauer, is now in the custody of the Bucks County Historical Society. In his worldly affairs, John Kephart was also quite successful and left a substantial estate for those times. His will is on file in the county court house at Doylestown. Mr. and Mrs. Kephart were the parents of a large family, as named below:

(1) Magdalena, born January 29, 1780, married John Bear;
(2) Jacob, born July 10, 1781, married Mary Magdalena Ruth;
(3) Susanna, born January 15, 1785, married David Hiestand;
(4) Elizabeth, born May 31, 1786, unmarried;
(5) Katherine, born in 1789, married John Gearhart;
(6) John, born in 1791, married Christiana Hook;
(7) Hannah, born in 1793, married Joseph Yocum;
(8) Abraham, born April 19, 1796, married Deborah Brunner;
(9) Anna, born March 19, 1799, married John Shutt.

Early Mennonite Sunday Schools

I

Silas Hertzler

Bishop Nicholas Johnson, of Masontown, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, was in a real sense a pioneer Sunday School worker in the Mennonite Church. As a boy of seventeen years he and his parents had moved into this part of Pennsylvania, coming by horse and wagon from Rockingham County, Virginia. It was here that he united with the Mennonite Church, and here he served his Master faithfully for so many years, successively as layman, deacon, minister, and bishop.

In physical energy and mental alertness Bishop Johnson was a man of much more than an ordinary amount of enthusiasm and ability. These same traits of character were carried over into his religious work, and Bishop Johnson was always anxious to see that the young people of his congregation received the teaching they needed to help them in their Christian life. Very early he felt that the Sunday School would be a means of help in Bible teaching, so he organized one in his home congregation to carry out his aim.

In a sketch of the life of Nicholas Johnson, written by Bishop John F. Funk, at the time of Johnson's death, April 1, 1873, the year 1842 is given as the date for the beginning of the first Sunday School in what was then known as the Jacob's Creek congregation, located near the head waters of Jacob's Creek, Fayette County. Pennsylvania. Funk says: "For many years, the church in this vicinity, amongst his family and relatives, was mainly supported and upheld by his labors. The first house for public worship, that was built by the church, was erected upon his land. Here in this church, in the year 1842, he took an active and leading part among the members of the church, in organizing and conducting a Sabbath School. This, it is believed, was the first Sabbath School established in the Mennonite Church within the United States."[1]

Bishop J. N. Durr, now of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, but earlier of Masontown, where Johnson lived, says that Bishop Johnson first opened the Sunday School at this place in 1840, privately, in a house adjacent to his home. This school was thus held privately because of opposition, and was tried out in this way before being held in the church. After a few years the congregation, too, realized the value of the Sunday School, and in 1848 the school was transferred to the meeting house known as the Dogwood church. and located a few miles from Masontown.[2]

Durr reports that the school was, during its early years, held in summer months only; and that for a series of years during, and immediately following, the Civil War, was discontinued entirely. It was then reorganized in April, 1872, and has been in continuous existence since that

time.[3] Following 1872, for a few years, the school was closed during the winter months. The "evergreen" plan was soon adopted, however, and the school has since been operated during the whole year.

There is one other available record of this early Sunday School. "Brother Henry", in writing for the Herald of Truth in 1873, writes of a visit to Fayette county, Pennsylvania. He says: "I learned since I have been in this neighborhood that the first Sabbath School was organized here in the year 1849, and was probably the frst organized in the Mennonite Church in America. It was held in the old Mennonite church, two miles east of Masontown."[4] This, it appears to the writer, from the other evidence, refers to the time when the school was transferred from the house on Johnson's farm to the public meeting place of the congregation. Thus it is clear that the Sunday School near Masontown began privately in 1840, or 1842; that it was transformed to the meeting house in 1848, or 1849; and that it has been in continuous existence since 1872.

1. *Herald of Truth,* September, 1873. p. 158. (Vol. X, No. 9.) See also *Gospel Herald,* August 27, 1925. p. 443. (Vol. XVIII, No. 22.)
2. *Gospel Herald,* March 3, 1927. p. 1034. (Vol. XIX, No. 49.)
3. *Herald of Truth,* March, 1872. pp. 43, 44. (Vol. IX, No. 3.)
4. *Herald of Truth,* November, 1873. p. 190. (Vol. X, No. 11.)

Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature

Mennonitica Americana, 1905-1927

V.

Introduction

By far the larger part of the 200 or more titles included in this section of the bibliography are publications of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa. The issues of the press of the Mennonite Publishing Co., at Elkhart, Ind. (J. F. Funk) continually decrease so that after the first few years they amount to very little. There is a bit of history behind this. For a number of years around the turn of the century there had been a growing gap between the Funk establishment and certain elements in the Church. In later years financial difficulties added to the problems of the Company. The Mennonite Book and Tract Society (established 1889) which had been started at Elkhart, Indiana by such men as J. S. Coffman, M. S. Steiner, and G. L. Bender, later moved to eastern Pennsylvania and finally to Scottdale, Pa., where it became the nucleus of an influential group dissatisfied with the Elkhart firm. The Tract Society early undertook the publication of books as well as tracts. Finally in 1905 the movement crystallized into another publishing company at Scottdale, Pa., the Gospel Witness Company, of which the Loucks family was the chief financial support. This company started the publication of "The Gospel Witness" at once, and followed with Sunday School literature. Matters came to such a pass that finally a Mennonite Publication Board was organized under the aegis of the Mennonite General Conference, with representativee from the various cooperating conferences, to take over both publishing firms. This plan was finally carried out in the spring of 1908. The publications of the Mennonite Publishing Co. were transferred to the new organization which assumed the name, Mennonite Publishing House. The two old Church weeklies were merged into the new "Gospel Herald", edited by Daniel Kauffman. The management of the Publishing House has been in the hands of Aaron Loucks from the beginning, assisted for two years by A. D. Martin, until his death, since then by Levi Mumaw. The head editor and chief writer for the House has been Daniel Kauffman, assisted since 1910 by J. A. Ressler, whose chief work has been the editing of the Sunday School literature of the Church. The House has been on a sound financial footing during its entire history and has made a notable record. It possesses a fully modern plant, and does an extensive printing business with its own presses. It is by far the largest printing establishment and publishing house of Mennonites not only in America but in the world. It is not to be confused with the Mennonite Book Concern of

Berne, Indiana, publishing agent for the General Conference of Mennonites of North America, who are publishers but not printers. The publishing business of this branch of Mennonites is divided between the Berne firm and the Herold Publishing Co., of Newton, Kansas. The various smaller Mennonite publishers do but a fraction of the business of the Scottdale firm.

Several interesting observations may be made upon a perusal of the list of titles which follows. In the first place, German titles are very rare. In fact, the German titles are with few exceptions printed for the Old Order Amish Mennonites, and not for the main body proper. German literature is no longer read by the main branch of Mennonites and has not been since 1900, at which time the German weekly, "Herold der Wahrheit", was discontinued. Again, the number of full-sized books, while it has increased, is still rather small. The greater portion of the titles are pamphlets. The number of authors is still smaller. The number of those who have written more than one full-sized book is very small, not more than seven at the most. Their names, in the order of amount of output, are Daniel Kauffman, John Horsch, J. S. Shoemaker, J. S. Hartzler, J. E. Hartzler (later joined another branch), L. J. Heatwole, and J. A. Ressler. Other authors of some note are Clara Eby Steiner, C. Henry Smith (since joined another branch), Lina Z. Ressler, W. C. Hershberger, J. W. Shank, George Lapp, N. E. Byers (since joined another branch), J. D. Charles, George R. Brunk, C. F. Derstine, Alta Eby Erb. Of all these, the literary output of Daniel Kauffman, J. S. Shoemaker, and John Horsch considerably exceeds in significance and literary quality the product of the rest. Daniel Kauffman, with his some 15 books and pamphlets, far exceeds the entire list. In fact, he has been the most prolific of Mennonite writers of all branches for the past 30 years. When it is remembered that to his books and pamphlets must be added his editorials and articles in the "Gospel Witness" and "Gospel Herald" for the past 23 years it is clear that his influence through the literature of Mennonites has been considerable. He has done much to mold and direct the thought of the Mennonite Church during the past generation, and is still active. Others who have been active and influential as editors during this period were H. F. Reist, for over 10 years editor of the "Christian Monitor"; Vernon Smucker, and C. F. Derstine, his successors; C. F. Yake, for over 7 years editor of the "Youth's Christian Companion" and Sunday School literature; D. H. Bender, J. A. Ressler, and J. W. Shank, editors of Sunday School literature for a long period of years.

Of all the literature produced, perhaps no books have been of general interest outside of Mennonites except the book by John Horsch, entitled

"Modern Religious Liberalism", which has had a wide and favorable reception in two editions. The historical literature has also been of some general interest.

APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL TITLES TO LITERATURE OF THE (OLD) MENNONITE CHURCH BEFORE 1905

1839 Eby, Benjamin
NEUES BUCHSTABIR- UND LESEBUCH, Besonders bearbeitet und eingerichtet zum Gebrauch Deutscher Schulen. Enthaltend das A B C, und vielerley Buchstabir- und Leseuebungen. Von Benjamin Eby. Erste Auflage.
Berlin, Ober Canada: Gedruckt bey Heinrich Wilhelm Peterson. 1839. pp. 144, small 16mo. MPH
Reprints: Berlin 1842, 1847; Elkhart 1869, 1871, 1882, 1896, 1909.

1842 Eby, Benjamin
A B C - BUCHSTABIR- UND LESEBUCH, zum Gebrauch fuer Deutsche Schulen in Canada. Verfasst von Benjamin Eby. Zweyte Auflage.
Berlin, Canada: Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby. 1842. pp. 144, 16mo. MPH

1871 EIN BESCHLUSS WEGEN EINER ZWISTIGKEIT in der Elkhart Gemeinde, in Indiana, beschlossen durch die sechs unterschriebenen bestaetigte Diener, den 17. October 1871. GCL
Small broadside signed by J. M. Brenneman, Isaac Hoffer, C. D. Beery, Geo. Brenneman, Heinrich Nice, John M. Greider.

1872 BERICHT DER CONFERENZ gehalten am 11. October 1872, im Yellow Creek Versammlungshause, in Elkhart County, Ind.
pp. 4. GCL
First printed report of the Indiana conference.

—— VERHANDLUNGEN DER ERSTEN ZUSAMMENKUNFT IN ILLINOIS. Gehalten den 24. Mai, in Whiteside County.
Small broadside. GCL

1873 CONFERENCE IN INDIANA.
Held at Yellow Creek, on Thursday and Friday, Oct. 9th and 10th 1873.
pp. 4, P. GCL
Contains also minutes of the first Missouri Conference, October 24, 1873.

—— CONFERENCE IN INDIANA. Gehalten Donnerstags und Freitags den 9. und 10. Oct. 1873.
pp. 4, P. GCL
Contains also minutes of the first Missouri Conference, October 24, 1873.

1873 HERALD SERIES OF S. S. LESSONS.
This S. S. Lesson material appeared as a 4-page supplement to the Herald of Truth monthly from May to October, 1873, although the name given above was not applied to it until the July number. This was the first S. S. lesson material in the Mennonite Church.

1874 Sutter, Johannes
GEBET-BUCH. Eine Sammlung geistreicher Gebeter fuer alle Zeiten und Angelegenheiten. Herausgegeben von Johannes Sutter, Morton, Tazewell Co., Ill.
Elkhart, Indiana. Gedruckt bei John F. Funk und Brud., 1874. pp. 152, 12mo. GCL

1875 Mast, S. D.
DAS CHRISTENTHUM UND DER STIMMKASTEN, oder die Ursache, warum ich nicht an die weltliche Wahl gehe. Durch S. D. Mast.
Reprinted from the July, 1874 number of the *Herold der Wahrheit.* Reprinted in D. Stutzman, *Der schmale Verleugnungsweg,* 1917.

1876 (?) Stoltzfus, John Sr.
EINE FAMILIEN GESCHICHTE . . . .
Gedruckt in der Office des "Waffenlosen Waechters" von Samuel Ernst, Gap, Pa. P.

1878 Brenneman, H. B.
THE LITTLE VISITOR. A Holiday Paper for the Children.
H. B. Brenneman, Publisher, Elkhart, Ind. pp. 8, P. GCL
Only one number issued.

1879 Troyer, Noah
PREDIGTEN vorgetragen durch Noah Troyer, ein Glied der Amischen Gemeinde in Johnson Co., Iowa, waehrend er in einem Stand der Unbewusstheit war, nebst einer kurzen Beschreibung seines Lebens. Uebersetzt aus dem Englischen durch John F. Funk.
Elkhart, Ind. Mennonite Publishing Company. 1879. pp. 77, large 16mo. GCL

1895 Schwarzendruber, Friedrich
EINE ERNSTE BETRACHTUNG ueber die uebertriebenen Mahlzeiten und Hochzeiten. Wie stimmen praechtige Mahlzeiten und das ueppige Hochzeitsgepraenge mit dem Worte Gottes? Betrachtet und bearbeitet von Pred. Friedrich Schwarzendruber, unterstuetzt von mehreren Bruedern der Amischen Gemeinde in Iowa. "Pruefet alles und das Gute behaltet".
Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. pp. 24, P. GCL

1900 CONFESSION OF FAITH AND MINISTER'S MANUAL . . . . Third Edition.
Elkhart, Indiana. Mennonite Publishing Company. 1900. pp. 134, 16mo. GCL

1904 A MANUAL OF CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH OF THE CANADA CONFERENCE DISTRICT.
1904. *Printed by E. S. Hallman, Berlin, Ont.* pp. 15, P. GCL

LITERATURE OF THE (OLD) MENNONITE CHURCH
1905 - 1927

(Since practically all of the titles in the following list are still in print and may be secured from publishers or authors, the symbols indicating location of titles in libraries have been omitted. They are given for MPH and GCL only in cases the titles are known to be out of print.)

1905 ARTIKEL UND ORDNUNGEN der Christlichen Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. 1905. *Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana.* pp. 16, 16mo. MPH SMG

Contains the ancient disciplines in use among the Old Order Amish of America, beginning with the one adopted at Strasburg in 1568.

—— AUSBUND . . . . Zehnte Auflage.
Elkhart, Ind. Gedruckt von der Mennonitischen Verlagshandlung. 1905. pp. 954, 12mo. GCL

—— CATECHISM . . . .
Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana. 1905. pp. 43, P. GCL

—— THE GOSPEL WITNESS.
Published weekly by The Gospel Witness Company, Scottdale, Pa. pp. 16, 9¼x12.

First number April 4, 1905. Issued three full years, then combined with Herald of Truth to form Gospel Herald. Editor, Daniel Kauffman. GCL has II and III. MPH has complete file.

—— Hartzler, J. S. and Kauffman, Daniel
MENNONITE CHURCH HISTORY. By J. S. Hartzler, Instructor in Goshen College, and Daniel Kauffman, Author of "Manual of Bible Doctrines", "One Hundred Lessons in Bible Study", "A Talk with Church Members", Etc.
Published by Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. 1905. pp. 422, 8vo. MPH GCL

—— Lapp, George J.
OUTLINE STUDY OF "THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES" AND "EPISTOLARY WRITINGS", for use in Private Study, in the Bible Class, and in Bible Normals, by Geo. J. Lapp, Missionary to India.
Published by J. A. Cooprider, McPherson, Kansas. The Proceeds of this booklet will be donated to the Kansas City Mission by the Author and Publisher. pp. 61, P. GCL

—— MENNONITE YEARBOOK AND DIRECTORY. A. D. 1905.
Published by the Mennonite Board of Charitable Homes and Missions. pp. 72, P. MPH and GCL have complete files.

This Yearbook has been published annually to date, except during the years 1910-1913 when it was combined with the *Family Almanac.* Published by the Mission Board named above and its successor, 1905-1908, beginning in 1909 by the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa. Valuable for statistics and addresses.

1905 (?) Schabalie, J. P.
WANDLENDE SEELE . . . . Neue (16te.) Auflage.
Philadelphia. Verlag von Schaefer und Koradi. Sued-West Ecke der Vierte und Wood Strasse. pp. 412, 8vo.
This firm published the 13th to 16th editions.

—— EINE UNPARTEIISCHE LIEDER-SAMMLUNG . . . .
Lancaster, Pa. Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1905. pp. 342, 16mo. MPH

1906 BEAMS OF LIGHT. Thy Word is a Lamp to My Feet.
Published weekly by the Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Scottdale, Pa. pp. 4, 6¼x9½.
A weekly paper for the primary classes in Sunday schools. First issue, January 1, 1906.

—— Berkey, E. J.
THE BIBLE MODE OF BAPTISM. Sermon Delivered at the Union Church, Auburn, Virginia, by E. J. Berkey.
E. J. Berkey, Publisher, Warrenton, Va. pp. 24, P. GCL
Sermon delivered Sept. 10, 1905. Said to be most widely distributed of all Mennonite tracts.

—— CONFESSION OF FAITH AND MINISTER'S MANUAL . . . . Fourth Edition.
Elkhart, Indiana. Mennonite Publishing Company. 1906. pp. 134, 16mo. GCL SHL

—— Kauffman, Daniel
A TALK WITH OUR BOYS AND GIRLS on subjects of Interest to Young People. By Daniel Kauffman.
Published by Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. 1906. pp. 88, large 16mo.

—— MENNONITE PRIMARY SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON QUARTERLY.
Published by the Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Scottdale, Pa.
A copy of the early issues could not be located so that the wording of the above title is uncertain.

—— Miller, C. J.
MEMORIAL HISTORY OF JOHN F. MILLER and a Complete Family Register of His Lineal Descendants and those related to Him by Intermarriage from the year 1820 to 1906. Chronologically arranged by His Son, C. J. Miller, Arthur, Illinois.
pp. 8, P. J. N. Byler of Hesston, Kansas has a copy.

—— THE MISSION WORKER. A monthly periodical published in the interest of mission work by the Mennonite Home Mission. A. H. Leaman, Editor. pp. 6, 6½x9½. [First issue, December, 1906; last issue, November, 1908.]
With the May, 1908 number *The Mission Worker* was published by the Mennonite Publication Board at Scottdale, Pa., "in the interest of the missions of the Menno-

nite Church". With the July, 1908 number John Thut became the editor. With the establishment of the *Christian Monitor* in January, 1909, *The Mission Worker* was discontinued.

1906 Stucky, Joseph
EINE BEGEBENHEIT, die sich in der Mennoniten-Gemeinde in Deutschland und in der Schweiz von 1693 bis 1700 zugetragen hat.
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The Value of Family History for Mennonite History

Illustrated from Nafziger Family History Material of the Eighteenth Century

Ernst Correll

II.

The Nafzigers in Europe (*continued*)

Since publication of the first part of this study more and still more interesting material concerning the Nafzigers and related Amish Mennonite families and their descendants has accrued, showing once more the fertility of the methods and results of family history for the history of the larger whole of Mennonism. A new interest in this particular family history has been taken by various members of the Nafziger family and valuable information has been received by such persons and others.[1] It should be emphasized in this connection that even seemingly worthless recollections or writings will greatly help not only for a family history as such but also for the tracing of broader connections. Many examples could be given. A few more general suggestions in regard to the Swiss-German group of Mennonite families will suffice.

Inscriptions in Bibles, song-books, and similar religious books are outstanding sources. One might say that such records are the typical Mennonite "Church"-records inasmuch as there exist no registrative arrangements such as are used in the official churches.[2] In Europe genealogical information in regard to periods before the introduction of the governmental registration of birth, marriage, and death, can only be gotten in church-records. In a few European settlements Mennonites were forced to register with the established churches. In other cases compromises were made and Mennonites were privileged to register with state or local government offices. There were no general rules and in many cases the only "registrations" were the before-mentioned inscriptions. Apparently these can never be considered as altogether reliable. However, in many cases they cannot be replaced by any other sources. The kinds of books which contain inscriptions furnish clues to determine places of family origin or membership in Amish or Mennonite factions.

In the present Nafziger case the writer learned of the existence of a family Bible purchased in 1687 which permits a direct connection with Mattheis Nafzger (No. 2), one of the immigrants who landed in Philadelphia in September 1749, thus immediately enlarging the known period of the Nafziger history from 1741 (Ulrich Naffzir, No. 1)[3] to 1687. The Bible purchased in 1687 was apparently one of the editions of the so-called Froschauer Bibles or Testaments, in particular of the edition in

Basel, Switzerland, in 1687, when "Das gantz Neuw Testament, grundtlich vnnd wol verteutschet . . . " of 1533 was reprinted. These Froschauer Bibles and Testaments were popular among the Swiss Mennonites and were for centuries the only edition which found their approval. It was the Bible printed by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1524, which also won its way into the Bible meetings of the early Anabaptists when and after their learned brethren Grebel, Manz, and others, expounded it from the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Christoph Froschauer who himself belonged to the radical circle, succeeded in putting Luther's High-German translation into the Swiss-German dialect and popular terms, in printing it nicely and illustrating it somewhat. Such an edition was easily adaptable to the type of people who in the majority had no elaborate knowledge of reading. Soon afterwards it happened that the Anabaptist movement and this Froschauer Bible were put under the ban by the political authorities, and the established church of the Zwinglian order authorized only one edition, namely, the one prepared by the "Predikanten zu Zurich". The Swiss Anabaptists, however, defended not only their beliefs and practices, but also the particular Bible edition which was cherished by their forefathers. As their lives were endangered and sacrificed to their cause so the particular "Taeuferbibel" and "Taeufertestamente" were under ban and were confiscated whenever the authorities got hold of such editions. Dr. Adolf Fluri,[4] a Swiss authority in Anabaptist history, who undertook careful studies along these lines, shows in an impressive fashion how the history of these Bible editions coincides with the fate of the Swiss Anabaptist groups themselves. Especially the Anabaptists in the Canton of Berne, before and after the Amish split, were eager to have their old Froschauer Bibles reprinted. This was however only possible outside the borders of the Berne Canton. In Basel, where they were foreigners to an authority which was still more tolerant, they succeeded with various reprints. One edition was printed in Strassburg in 1744. Other editions of 1737, 1790, and 1825, which carry the names of the German book-trade centers Frankfurt and Leipzig as places of issue, were also Basel prints according to Dr. Fluri's findings.

The Bible mentioned in reference to Mattheis Nafzger, No. 2, 1749, is the 1687 edition of Basel. It seems that this connection proves without a doubt that the Nafzigers are rooted in the Bernese group of the Swiss Mennonites and according to other evidence finally belonged to the Amish branch without exception. Thus it is shown how a certain Bible edition found in the possession of a Mennonite family leads to establishing clear connections to the original group, at once doing away with any doubt. We refer to page 70 of The Mennonite Quarterly Review, January

1928 number, and declare that the first puzzle in regard to the Nafziger History has found a satisfactory solution.

Similar conclusions can be drawn in cases where we find certain editions of songbooks, especially of the "Ausbund", of Confessions of Faith, and of general religious literature which were cherished among the Mennonites.[5] The various "Ausbund" editions in Europe and America, the original hymn-book of the Swiss Mennonites, which has been retained until this day among the old order Amish, permit fertile references if found in the possession of certain families. Similarly, the European and American editions of *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht, Gueldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen, Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer-Spiegel, Die Wandlende Seele,* and of other publications popular in earlier or more recent Mennonite life will indicate historical connections.

Also the possession of books which have no Mennonite character whatsoever and non-religious books, such as almanacs, popular medical books, "Krauter-Buecher", collections of pow-wow incantations,[6] will usually suggest helpful references to further tracts. The study of folkloristic traditions and superstitious medical practices in Europe has been sufficiently advanced that reliable historical conclusions can be drawn. The preservation of incantations or of certain customs in the form of games by children and adults may indicate or confirm places of family origin if no better sources are available. Besides this immediate historical assistance for genealogical efforts certain folklore traditions have a sociological significance in demonstrating the amount of local superstitions carried on especially among the old order Amish.

Another indication of origin may be observed in inherited traditional "national" hatreds which may be expressed in certain slogans. For instance the information which Senator T. A. Noftzger of Wichita, Kansas, gives on his branch contains the recollection that past generations of these Noftzgers "all hated the Prussians". Inasmuch as the data on this Noftzger branch were insufficient this very reference to the traditional "hating-the-Prussians" attitude indicates clearly the northern boundary (the river Maine) in the search for the intermediate settlement of these Noftzgers in Europe. It suggests even a connection with the Nafziger group in Bavaria (Upper Bavaria) as recorded on page 71 (No. 24a), in the Jnuary 1928 REVIEW.

When written sources fail even vague recollections may give reliable suggestions of European origins. Mr. L. R. Nafziger, of Kansas City, Missouri, quotes his 82-year-old father, Mr. Edward Nafziger, as remembering that his parents emigrated from "Nausaulensia, Klabacher Hof". This was verified and a connection established with Peter Nafziger (No. 24), in the former Duchy of Nassau, Germany. So we learn for the first time of an American Nafziger branch reaching back to the famous settlement of Mennonite model farmers in Nassau-Usingen. A connection

of this Nassau branch with Joh. Nafziger (No. 7), born in 1706, is probable. Additional material on the latter, whose influence as a bishop reached into the Netherlands, will be published later.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Acknowledgement is due to Mrs. J. W. Richer of South Whitley, Indiana, who is now active in constructing the genealogical tree which is to comprise all available Nafziger data of both Europe nd America.. Mr. L. S. Nafziger of Goshen, Indiana, collected further material in regard to the European data of the Ohio Nafzigers. Mr. Henry Rychener, Pettisville, Ohio, added new material in this direction. New information was also received from Mr. L. S. Naftzger, founder and president of the Southwest National Bank of Wichita, Kansas, likewise from Senator T. A. Noftzger, Wichita, Kansas, and Mr. Ralph LeRoy Nafziger, head of the Schulze Baking Company, Kansas City, Missouri. Dr. C. Henry Smith of Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio, kindly gave further access to his library and his rich collection of copies of material from European archives. He also lent the manuscript of his *Immigration of the Mennonites to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, soon to be published by the Pennsylvania-German Society.
2. A systematic investigation into the official methods of registering Mennonite births, marriages, and deaths in the various European settlements would open up new sources of information. Directions to such investigations can be found in Correll, *Das Schweizerische Taeufer-Mennonitentum*, Tuebingen 1925, in the chapter on the legalistic aspects of this group, page 79ff. In regard to marriage registration consult section L on "Die taeuferisch-mennonitische Ehe und die rechtlichen Erfordernisse von Staat und Kirche wegen" in Correll's Art. "Ehe", *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, I, pp. 518-520, with sources and literature, pp. 525f. For the situation within the German Empire in particular cf. Dr. E. Krehbiehl's Art. "Eherecht", *ibid.*, pp. 528f. In regard to death-registration, cf. Neff's Art. "Begraebnis", *ibid.*, pp. 154-157.
3. This suggestion came from Dr. C. Henry Smith's manuscript on *The Immigration of the Mennonites to Pennsylvania* . . . Note 30 in the chapter on the Amish. Further details are given in C. Z. Mast's *History of the Mast Families*, p. 336, according to which Dorothy Nafzger, a daughter of Mattheis Nafzger (No. 2), married one John Kenege. Mattheis Nafzger is even called a native of Switzerland. This reference needs to be confirmed, however.
4. Ad. Fluri, *Bern und die Froschauerbibel, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der sog. Taeufertestamente*, in *Blaetter fuer Bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde*, XVIII 1922, 338ff, and *ibid.*, 1923, 1ff: *Das Taeufertestament von* 1687, summarized in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, Art. "Froschauer Bibeln und Testamente", pp. 14f.
5. H. S. Bender's *Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana* will have its bearing on Mennonite Family History and deserves careful consultation in cases mentioned above. For exclusive European publications the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* should be consulted.
6. Such incantations can be found on the fly-leaves of a copy of *Der Blutige Schauplatz oder Martyrerspiegel . . . . von vereinigter Bruederschaft in Europa . . befoerdert*", Pirmasens, 1780, in possession of the late Mr. Joseph Nafziger (No. 15). Doctor M. B. Kreider, Goshen, Indiana, knows of incantations in use among the Amish of northern Indiana. There are dialect variations in both collections indicative of different Swiss or German origins. For the general significance of such "Schaden- und Schutzzauber" compare Dr. Eduard Stemplinger, *Antiker Aberglaube in seinen modernen Ausstrahlungen*, Leipzig, 1922, and *Antike und moderne Volksmedizin*, Leipzig, 1925. For national origins see J. E. Rothenhag, *Volksthuemliches aus dem Kanton Bern, Localsagen und Satzungen des Aberglaubens*, Zuerich, 1876; *Bavaria Landes- u. Volkskunde des Kgr. Bayern, bearb. von e. Kreise bayer. Gelehrter*, W. H. Riehl u. Felix Dahn, ed., 5 volumes, Muenchen, 1860-1868. In regard to Upper Bavaria in particular, see M. Hoefler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube in Oberbayerns Gegenwart und Vergangenheit*, Muenchen, 1893.